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Alia Recommends Creation of Free Economic Zones

AU2107150191 Tirana ATA in English 0758 GMT 21 Jul 91

["President's Recommendations for Setting Up Free Economic Zones" — ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 21 (ATA) — The president's cabinet reports that Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic, recommends the Council of Ministers that in order to withdraw the foreign investments, it should bear in mind some important directions as:

1. To set up free economic zones in the territory of the Republic. Such a zone might be Vlore, but also another city as for instance Kavaje or Shkoder. It is aimed to encourage the withdrawal of the capital by creating facillities to the foreign investors (concerning customs duties, etc) and contribute to the economic development of the country and employment of people.

2. Foreigners who will invest in Albania in various fields and particularly in the export sectors be freed from taxes up to five years.

Protest to SFRY on Army Actions at Border

AU2007090791 Tirana ATA in English 0808 GMT 20 Jul 91

["Announcement of the Spokesman of the Foreign Ministry"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 20 (ATA)— On July 19, 1991, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Predrag Pjanic, was summoned at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania. A note of protest on cases of maltreatment of the Albanian nationals by the Yugoslav Forces of the frontier was handed over to him. Disapproving the illegal border crossings by our nationals, the note pointed out that there had been many cases of beating and humiliating them by the Yugoslav soldiers. The note protests particularly against the inhuman treatment of Ernest Tusha from Shkoder, 18 years of age who was beaten and died from the wounds caused by the Yugoslav military.

The Yugoslav party was asked to dissociate itself from such criminal acts and adopt the proper measures to find out and condemn the authors of these actions and such cases be no longer repeated in the future.

Conference on Restructuring Government Opens

AU2107151491 Tirana ATA in English 0835 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 21 (ATA) — The conference for restructuring the government and public administration of the Republic of Albania opened in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses on July 20 .

Attending were officials and specialists of central departments, different institutions and the executive committees of the districts' People's Councils.

Attending were also representatives of the international economic organisms that have come to our country to contribute to the processes of economic reform being carried out here as well as by the permanent mission of the UN Program on Development and the international fund.

The conference was declared open by Gramoz Pashko, deputy prime minister and minister of economy, who dwelt on the grave economic situation and the measures that should be adopted to bring the country out of crisis .

Then Mr. Jusuf Ibrahimi resident deputy representative of the permanent mission of the UN Program on Development (UNDP) greeted the conference .

Mr. Mekai, member of the International Monetary Fund mission took the floor. He spoke on the program of the reform being drafted by the Albanian Government in cooperation with this international organism.

Prof. Noel Velan, deputy president of the University of Limerick in Ireland and adviser of UNDP summit tackled with some of the fundamental requirements for restructuring the government and the state sector moving to the market economy.

Mr. Rovi Capil, deputy director of the sector of the UNDP public administration spoke on the adaption of public administration to the market economy.

The conference continues its proceedings.

Pluralistic Executive Committees Formed

AU2007102691 Tirana ATA in English 0858 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 20 (ATA)—Implementing the law of the People's Assembly on the creation of temporary pluralistic executive committees, in its meeting of July 19, 1991, after examining the proposals of the political forces of 12 districts, the Council of Ministers adopted the composition of the temporary pluralistic executive committees and appointed their leaders in these districts: Tirana, Elbasan, Puke, Tropoje, Kukes, Diber, Gramsh, Permet, Librazhd, Gjirokaster, Tepelene, and Mat.

Assembly Debates Land Law, Supplies, Abuses

AU2007084291 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 20 Jul 91

["From the Proceedings of the People's Assembly"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 20 (ATA)—On July 19 before noon, the People's Assembly continued its proceedings with the Article 16 and other articles of the draft law "On the

Land." After numerous debates by the deputies, the Articles 16 up to 25 were adopted. They treat of various questions of the agricultural land, its exploitation, maintenance and abuses,etc.

In the afternoon sitting, the deputies who took the floor voiced the worries on various problems of the inhabitants of the zones where they are elected, as well as on the question of the normalization on the part of the government of the supply of different districts of the country with food articles, adoption of measures in some zones to eliminate the pollution of environment,etc.

Further on, an information was read out on the work made by the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly on Health, Protection of Environment and Public Services on the use of currency funds of the Ministry of Health on the high-ranking party and state leaders for medical problems during 1980-1990 period.

At this, the proceedings of this day were over. The People's Assembly will continue on July 22.

Academy of Sciences Statement on Kosovo

AU2007122391 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 20 (ATA)—Yugoslavia has long since been gripped by a deep and all-round crisis, which has put to question its very existence, a statement of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences says.

The chauvinistic leadership of Serbia which clashed with arms with Slovenia and Croatia is ever more forcefully spearheading its arms against the martyr Kosovo. After eradicating any trace of the autonomy of the province and dissolving its legitimate organs, the big Serb chauvinists are designing new plans for a physical repression of the Albanians and their mass annihilation.

The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Albania, expressing the feelings of our country's scholars, calls on the respective international organisms, scientific institutions and forces of all the countries to raise their voice in defence of the rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo, of its national identity, its language and culture which the Serb chauvinists want to destroy. The Albanian people of Kosovo, who together with the other brothers living in Yugoslavia, make up half of a single nation, have the right to have their own republic, as they themselves have decided, and to decide freely on their own destiny as all the other peoples of Yugoslavia. One should not allow the future of Yugoslavia and of the Albanian population there to be decided upon without listening to the voice of the Albanians, without taking into consideration their will, which is the will of the third nation in that country on the basis of their number.

Press Coverage of Kosovo Situation Reviewed

AU2007084091 Tirana ATA in English 0914 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 19 (ATA)—The Albanian newspapers continue to carry reports and other materials on the recent developments in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. The newspaper ALTERNATIVA SD, organ of the Albanian Social-Democratic Party, carries the article; "Kosovo in the Yugoslav Crossroads". It stresses among others that the northern front not yet closed, there are signs that the southern one may open. Another report says that Croatia and Serbia have come to terms for the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

We, Albanians, of course, do not wish ill to the peoples of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, we want them, through their free will and in a democratic way, to realise their national aspirations, human rights and freedoms according to the well-known international standards. But we include in this sincere wish also our blood brothers living in their territories in Kosovo and other Albanian territories in Yugoslavia.

Albanians in Yugoslavia represent the third nation in number, living in compact territories as autochthonous inhabitants. The bloody reprisals towards the Albanian population in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia have not subdued them. The recent creation of the interparty coordinating council in Kosovo is another testimony to the maturity and determination to take completely in their hands the fate of the Albanian people and territories in Yugoslavia.

An article in the newspaper ALBANIA, organ of the Albanian Ecological Party, stresses among others that the greatest Kosovo tragedy has as a victim three-million people, a people living in their lands, with their language, culture, and traditions. The Kosovars want that which they are entitled to by justice and history. They want the land of their ancestors. They want to enjoy a free life.

Negotiations on Investment Agreement With Greece

AU2007102591 Tirana ATA in English 0854 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 20 (ATA)—Negotiations were held in Tirana from July 16-19, 1991 between the Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries and the delegation of the Hellenic Republic on the agreement between the government of the Republic of Albania and the government of the Hellenic Republic on the encouragement and protection of investments .

At the end of the negotiations the respective agreement was endorsed and will be signed in Tirana by the end of July 1991, during the negotiations of the third session of the joint commissions of the two countries on economic, industrial, technical and scientific cooperation. This agreement is an important document which will encourage and contribute to the further developmznt of cooperation between our two neighbouring countries and will particularly stimulate the investments of Greek companies and firms in our country.

During its stay in our country, the delegation was received by Ylli Cabiri, minister of economic relations with foreign countries.

Zhelev Meets Local Council Leaders in Sliven

AU2007172391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Report from Bulgarian Radio correspondent in Sliven]

[Text] I will not take an oath [to the new Constitution], because I consider it ridiculous to do this twice within the framework of one and the same term of office, President Zhelev declared in Sliven. He had a meeting there with representatives of the provisional executive committees and the political forces in Sliven, Nova Zagora, Kotel, and Tvurditsa.

The president was briefed on the region's political and social problems and on the political climate at the start of the election campaign. He informed his audience that in the very near future the legislature is due to adopt an electoral law and a law on territorial and settlement organization, which are to form the basis for conducting the upcoming elections. In this connection, Dr. Zhelev pointed out that the local authority elections would be held on the basis of the present administrative division of the country.

The president expressed the view that, despite many shortcomings, Bulgaria's new Constitution is better than the former one, and is acceptable at this stage as a basis for changing the system.

Defends New Constitution

AU2007181391 Sofia BTA in English 1746 GMT 20 jul 91

[Text] Sliven, July 20 (BTA)—"There is nothing or almost nothing communist in the new Constitution. Those claiming the contrary are simply speaking against their conscience. The major concepts in it are identical with the opposition's views," President Zhelev said, answering emotional questions during his meeting here with representatives of the interim local administration and political parties from Sliven, Nova Zagora, Kotel and Tvurditsa.

He said that he is not uncritical to the new basic law but called for a historical and multi-aspectual assessment of things in the period of transition. "We will have a liberal Constitution when we become a developed society with a liberal economy, now even the most liberal constitution is impracticable in Bulgaria," the president stressed. He expressed his belief that those who want to win the elections should be objective.

Asked whether he would take a second oath of office, Dr. Zhelev answered categorically in the negative. He considers it absurd to be sworn in twice during the same term of office.

The president hopes the new elections will be held on an improved proportional representation system and the question of Bulgaria's administrative division will be settled by the next National Assembly.

Zhelev, Popov Visit Third Army in Sliven

AU1907202091 Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Sliven, July 19 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev, ministers, MP's, members of the Parliamentary National Security Committee and representatives of political parties and movements have been on a visit to the Third Army since this afternoon at the invitation of Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of defence.

Major General Lyutskan Lyutskanov, commander of the Third Army, spoke about military training, the troops' patriotic education, the depoliticization of Army life and actions to link them to the principle of undivided authority. General Lyutskanov stressed that the permanent military and mobilization alert is running into difficulties connected with the adoption of the new military doctrine, the implementation of the new curricula, and the reduced term of military service. According to him, these problems are compounded by political tension in Bulgaria, the shortage of fuels and lubricants, and other factors of the transition and the general crisis.

General Lyutskanov assured those present that regardless of tension, the Third Army is in a condition to fulfill its major task to further raise the level of military training in accordance with the defence doctrine and for the reliable defence of the territorial integrity of this part of Bulgaria.

In connection with General Lyutskanov's statement that the status of the Bulgarian officer does not correspond to his social mission, President Zhelev said that unfortunately, military officers are in the same condition as society as a whole and that he sees a way out in the establishment of a professional army.

The guests spent much time examining the living conditions in one of the barracks and the grounds where the troops are trained and study military equipment.

Tomorrow the visit will continue at the "Novo Selo" Firing Ground where the troops will show their skill in using the equipment in "warfare" conditions.

Observe 'Tactical Exercise'

AU2007171991 Sofia BTA in English 1621 GMT 20 Jul 91

["President Zhelev: Bulgarian Army Well up to Standard"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sliven, July 20 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev, cabinet ministers, MP's, generals and journalists, who have been on a visit to Third Army for two days, watched today a planned tactical exercise.

Electronic equipment and military experts evaluated highly the troops' skills. President Zhelev, who is commander-in-chief of the Army, said: "Our Army is well up to standard." The president stressed that despite economic difficulties the Army is receiving and will receive all it needs. At the same time, political guarantees of national security are being sought in the European structures of cooperation.

Later on President Zhelev requested the attending officials to let him have a private talk with the rank and file soldiers.

SDS MP's Decide To Call Off Hunger Strike

AU1907162191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Interview with Mikhail Nedelchev, National Assembly member of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Elena Shtereva, in square in front of St. Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral in Sofia where an SDS election rally is being held—live]

[Text] [Shtereva] The rally has just started with music. The people who have gathered here support the decision that has just been made, namely that the members of the legislature of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] are calling off their hunger strike. Mikhail Nedelchev will tell you the details. Good afternoon.

[Nedelchev] Good afternoon. I would not like to go into details, because they will be fully announced in a short while by Aleksandur Yordanov in a special declaration. I simply want to say that the atmosphere in the square is festive, because the SDS election campaign is being conducted successfully and, in addition, this rally marks our direct entry into the election campaign—a campaign that we will wage with cheerful faces, with our thoughts directed toward a true democratic future for Bulgaria.

Yordanov Urges End to 'Solidarity Strike Actions'

AU1907194891 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 19 (BTA)—The MP's who were on hunger strike for nine days decided today to end the strike. The decision was announced by Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov MP at a rally of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) in Sofia. In his address he called on SDS supporters to end solidarity strike actions. He added that the presidential decree on new parliamentary elections is a great victory for the SDS, while parliament's refusal to schedule a referendum on the new Constitution is a violation of the agreement concluded at the round-table talks last year. SDS spokesman Mikhail Nedelchev told the rally that the SDS has never been so united and the proof is the unanimous support for the SDS to run in the elections on a single blue ballot-paper.

Parliament passed on second reading the cooperatives bill, one of the key acts for the economic reform. Experts consider this act of equal importance to the Land Act. The cooperatives act will terminate the existence of cooperative farms which were managed up to now by administrative methods, and restores owners' right to form cooperatives, while retaining their rights.

Parliament elected Mr. Zakhari Karamfilov MP, of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, chairman of the National Institute of Statistics. He is chairman of the Parliamentary Economic Committee.

Parliament elected Mr. Filip Ishpekov MP—of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and deputy foreign minister until April 1991—chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee. Under the latest chairman—former Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov—the committee did not work in practice because the MP's of the SDS boycotted its meetings after Mr. Lukanov's election as chairman.

Journalists are continuing their protest against attempts to impose control over their work. The Podkrepa Union of Bulgarian Journalists considers yesterday's decision of the Parliamentary Committee on Radio and Television as an attempt at imposing censorship and refuses to accept these dictator-like steps, a declaration received at BTA says. The union addresses a categorical protest to the National Assembly and intends to familiarize the International Federation of Journalists (FIJ) with this anti-democratic act. The journalists of the Khorizont Programme of Bulgarian Radio also declare themselves against censorship and state that they will react to any further infringement upon professional freedom with lawful general trade union actions.

Correspondents from the country again report on the progress of the harvest and the numerous problems impeding it: the lack of funds, fuels, spares, the disintegration of many cooperative farms. The gathering of the crops has been about two weeks late this year.

FKD Accuses Dimitrov of 'Bolshevizing' Country

AU2007115591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Jul 91 p 3

[DUMA PRESS report]

[Text] The executive leadership of the Federation of Democracy Clubs [FKD] asserted that Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], and the political coalition he leads are responsible for consistently imposing totalitarianism and Bolshevizing the country. In this connection, on 16 July FKD Chairman Petko Simeonov signed a message addressed to the SDS chairman.

The document lists a number of the most recent decisions of the National Coordinating Council that are described as Bolshevist.

The message is motivated by the alarm felt over the escalation of intolerance, violence, and social tension, which, according to the FKD, "is unfortunately inspired and supported by the National Coordinating Council and you yourself," despite the formal decision that all forms of protest must be peaceful. One example cited is the beating up of the Green Party activists Ivan Gorinov and Nikolina Nikolova.

In conclusion, the message calls for a reconsideration of the humiliating decisions of the SDS National Coordinating Council, otherwise the FKD will seek friends and allies among parties and organization inside and outside the SDS who respect organizational autonomy, separate identity, and democratic principles.

Mayor Karakachanov: 'No Intention of Resigning'

AU2007120091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Jul 91 p 2

[Boryana Buchvarova report]

[Text] "I have no intention of resigning from the office of mayor," declared Aleksandur Karakachanov, despite the fact that the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] had decided that he could no longer serve as Sofia's mayor.

"Since the SDS leadership has reached an assessment, it should act according to its decision," said Dr. Khristo Dimov, who has been proposed to succeed Karakachanov and is at present the spokesman of the Sofia City Council.

"Such a change means that the SDS regards the interim administrations as temporary phenomena, and is looking toward the elections," Dr. Dimov, a Radical Democrat, commented. He was the only member of the provisional Sofia City Executive Committee to vote against the letter in which the SDS defined the procedure for the street manifestations on the day on which the Constitution was signed.

Sofia's mayor can only be replaced following consultations between the political forces that originally supported his candidature, explained Blagoy Dechev, a representative of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in the Central Commission on Provisional Administrations under the Council of Ministers.

Media Accused of Supporting SDS Dissidents

AU2007123691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Jul 91 p 4

[DUMA Editorial: "Brothers and Sisters, Let Us Defend Democracy"]

[Excerpts] The new Constitution is a fact. Our society is entering a new stage in its development. The Constitution provides all opportunities for a real implementation of social reform. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, right-wing forces exist in our society which did not react to the great event in an appropriate manner. Incapable of arresting the historical process of peaceful transition, they are searching for all sorts of ways to disrupt social peace. One these methods is public resistance against the new Constitution. [passage omitted]

The 39 members of parliament who deserted the Grand National Assembly and refused to perform their civic duty have assumed the leadership of the anticonstitutional forces. While their colleagues in the legislature were drafting and passing the new basic law of the nation, they toured the country spreading doubts about the Constitution among the population. Their disloyal speeches and actions, their pseudorevolutionary appeals for disobedience and destruction were aimed at one, single target—namely at creating a chaotic situation. Fortunately, neither the people nor parliament ceded to their sinister efforts. [passage omitted]

The hunger strike of the deserters from the legislature and of some of their supporters would not have been regarded as a serious public event, had Khorizont Radio and Bulgarian Television not turned it into the main topic of their programs. In this case the two national mass media not only violated their codes of regulations, but also betrayed their own civic conscience. They incited passions to the highest degree. Their interviews, conversations, and "medical bulletins" totally misled the country, submerging it in a cloud of disinformation. Thanks to them people are now living under the impression that something awful is happening in the capital, that the hunger strikers are some sort of martyrs, that Sofia citizens are "suffering" in sympathy with them. In this case the information is very far from the real situation. The hunger strike is just a casual street episode which draws the attention of citizens out of curiosity, rather than evoking their genuine interest. The hunger strikers who are lying on the street are simple political manipulators who are trying to convince the public that the Constitution which has been adopted is a "crime against the nation." Their efforts are in vain, but their stubbornness is remarkable. These people are resolved to act by all means, even if it is against the public interest. They are ready to set fire to Bulgaria for the sake of their own political passions. May God, in whom they pretend to believe in all their hypocrisy, forbid that they should use such opportunities. May the society which they are trying to precipitate into chaos openly show them its well-deserved contempt. In the opposite case, a few dozen people's ambitions may play a very sinister role.

Under the given circumstances in our country, the attitude to the Bulgarian Constitution is the chief watershed which divides the public forces today. There is no time for games in this respect. Those who cherish democracy and civic peace cannot fail to come to its defense. Those who are trying to suspend the Constitution in the hour of its birth are voluntarily or involuntarily opening the path of lawlessness, antidemocratic processes, and even of dictatorship, because

every Bulgarian citizen who is concerned about the motherland should make his own choice. It is the decisive choice of our common future.

The Bulgarian public has always distinguished itself by its common sense and resolute will, by its sense of law and justice. The time has come when our people should express these virtues, Irrespective of the gentlemen on hunger strike and all those around them who are trying to frighten the people. It is the first time that our nation is firmly holding the fate of our state in its own hands. May the people's strong hands not fail them.

Corruption Committee Launches New Publication

AU2007123091 Sofia BTA in English 1412 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 19 (BTA)—The Civil Committee of Inquiry into Corruption and Malfeasance in Office is starting a new publication from next week: the "PREDI I SEGA" ("before and now") weekly, which will carry the committee's sensational disclosures. Mr. Aleksandur Aleksandrov, chairman of the committee, says that he has collected facts for a book of a hundred pages.

A state security employee received 50,000 dollars from the Moscow Narodniy Bank in London to destroy writer Georgi Markov's archives. Human organs taken from prisoners' corpses have been sold. Bulgaria paid the United States 250,000 dollars bail for a nephew of former communist leader Todor Zhivkov. These are some of the civil committee's disclosures.

"Mr. Andrey Lukanov will be the weekly's frequent 'guest'," according to Mr. Aleksandrov who claims that the committee holds documents proving Mr. Lukanov liable for 1,000 million leva.

Monarchists Set Up New 'Confederation'

AU2107190791 Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 21 (BTA) - A "Kingdom of Bulgaria, Confederation" was set up today. It consists of several royalist organizations.

Mr. Manol Zhurnalov M.P., an adherent to the royalist idea in parliament, said in his speech that the Confederation supports the "state-building and socio-political platform of the Union of Democratic Forces." However, it is not known yet whether the royalists will run in the elections on a separate list or on the list of the Union of Democratic Forces.

Poll Results on Parties, Government, Unions

AU2107161891 Sofia BTA in English 1521 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 21 (BTA)—If the elections were held now, 36 per cent of the electorate would vote for the Union of Democratic Forces, 27 per cent for the Bulgarian Socialist Party, 11 per cent for the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, and 7 per cent for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. These are the results of an express sociological survey conducted from July 1 to 10 by a team of the University of Sofia and the Sociology Institute with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The results were announced last night in the "Panorama" political broadcast on television.

Television audiences also learned the results of a survey conducted by the National Public Opinion Center concerning views on the government and the trade unions.

55 per cent of Bulgarians approve the government, while 29 per cent disapprove of it. 51 per cent of respondents believe the actions taken by the government are correct and necessary, 28 per cent disapprove them, and 21 per cent have no opinion on the question.

Prime Minister Dimitur Popov tops the list of cabinet members approved by respondents, followed by Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov, and Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Emiliya Maslarova.

As to the trade unions, sociologists observe a drop in both approval and disapproval of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. Approval of the Podkrepa Trade Union is falling more slowly as compared to that of the Independent Trade Unions.

Asked what they expect of the trade unions, 40 per cent of respondents answer they should ensure jobs, 38 per cent expect them to fight for higher pay, and 12 per cent for social gains.

Podkrepa: Creative Union Bears Cultural 'Guilt'

AU1907080491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Jul 91 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report]

[Text] The newly formed "Tvorchestvo" [Creativity] Trade Union Confederation of Representatives of Science, Arts, and Culture Unions [Sindikalna konfederatsiya na predstaviteli na suyuzi v sferata na naukata, izkustvata i kulturata] encompasses a large proportion of the people who bear the guilt for the present state of culture. This is stated in a declaration issued by the creative trade unions of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

We presume that these people will soon want to join in the work of the Trilateral National Commission on Coordinating Interests. This is unlawful, the leaders of six cultural organizations attached to Podkrepa stated at a news conference held on 15 July.

The "Tvorchestvo" Confederation was formed before 10 July. When the constituent agreement was signed in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia, it was stated that 150,000 people actively engaged in science, culture, and the arts will be members of the confederation.

Agreement Reached at Chelopech Mining Enterprise

AU1807140291 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
15 Jul 91 p 2

[TRUD staff report: "Mining Enterprise Chelopech Will Continue Its Existence"]

[Text] As early as 12 July, representatives of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] and Krasimir Dimitrov, chairman of the national strike committee, met with the KNSB trade union committee, the mine's management, and Kamen Gulubov, chairman of the Chelopech Mining Enterprise's strike committee. An agreement was reached to have an immediate meeting with government representatives. Talks began late in the evening in the KNSB building between Krasimir Dimitrov, Petur Tsibranski, deputy minister for industry, trade and services, and Mr. Bankov, chief specialist at the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. After consulting with Professor Petkov and Minister Maslarova by telephone, the preliminary wording of an agreement was prepared, and the beginning of negotiations with the striking Chelopech miners was fixed.

At KNSB, on 13 July, the day began with a meeting of representatives from the Chelopech Mining Enterprise, the government, and the KNSB. The vice president and the secretary general of the Podkrepa Miners' Federation stated that they did not have the authority to conduct negotiations and returned to Garibaldi Square. In difficult discussions with arguments and counter arguments, a final unambiguous wording for an agreement was worked out.

At 1830, in the waiting room of Sofia Airport, Deputy Prime Minister Ludzhev and Minister Pushkarov guaranteed, by signing the agreement, that the Chelopech Mining Enterprise will continue to exist. The government commits itself to lending assistance to activities that will stabilize the enterprise. Mr. Ivan Kisyakov, director of the Chelopech Mining Enterprise is to urgently submit to the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Services a well-researched memorandum on the material and financial means necessary for the normal working of the enterprise.

Content, Amendments to Referendum Law Reported

AU2007190191 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

["iko"-signed report: "A Day Filled With (Only) Debate"]

[Text] The referendum bill submitted to the Federal Assembly on 16 July provoked dozens of statements [at yesterday's session of the Federal Assembly]. Here is a brief characterization of the bill that we promised to provide yesterday.

The referendum should be used to decide only the fundamental matters of constitutional arrangement, and only citizens who are eligible to vote would be permitted to take part in it. It would be declared by the president—in both republics at the proposal of the Federal Assembly, or in only one of the republics at the proposal of the respective national council—within 15 days after receiving the request. The president would have the right to send the referendum questions back [to the legislature], or to refuse to declare the referendum if the questions are not formulated unequivocally. The referendum should take place within 90 days after the president receives the proposal. The result of the referendum must always be adopted by 50 percent of the votes plus one. A referendum on the same question can be repeated after five years. Should the CSFR cease to exist due to the result of a referendum, this could happen only after one year [from the referendum date]. Property on the territories of the republics would be divided according to where it is situated; other property (financial assets and liabilities, banks, federal material reserves, and property outside the republic) would be divided according to population figures.

Of the amendments proposed [at the 17 July session of the Federal Assembly], we have selected, for example, the possibility to declare a referendum at the request of 10 percent of eligible voters (M. Cic—Movement For a Democratic Slovakia); the division of all assets solely on the basis of population figures (M. Voscek—Christian Democratic Movement); the implementation of the referendum within 180 days [after the president receives the proposal] (E. Valko—Public Against Violence movement); the use of referendum to determine the constitutional arrangement of the Czech Republic (L. Zacek—Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia; J. Lux—Christian and Democratic Union); and so forth. Only the Slovak National Party completely rejected the submitted bill.

To allow time for the incorporation of all proposed amendments into the bill, the deputies then started to debate an amendment to the law on small privatization that was initiated by a group of deputies. It was submitted by J. Jurecka (Civic Democratic Party). The aim of the amendment is to contribute to improving auction procedures and conditions for the bidder. On the other hand, the Federal Assembly does not want to interfere in the fixing of auction prices in any way. The amendment contains the following three most important changes—abolition of the three-minute time limit for consideration before the item is declared sold to the bidder; extension of the lease from two to five years (that would not apply retroactively to businesses that have already been auctioned off); and introduction of more rigid conditions for declaring so-called Dutch auctions [during which the price is bid down if no buyer can be found at the starting price].

A total of 18 deputies took the floor during the debate, proposing a large number of changes. M. Zeman (Civic Movement) endorsed broader leasing possibilities for those who want to engage in private enterprise but do not have readily available capital. The credits extended by banks for this purpose are insufficient. This proposal even has the support of [Czech] Privatization Minister T. Jezek. J. Stern (Civic Democratic Alliance) demanded the possibility for foreign nationals to enter even the first round of auctions. After the end of the debate, the joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers was interrupted, and the political clubs and the Federal Assembly's board [gremium] held meetings. Legislative committees met in the evening to consider the principles of the proposed law on screenings. The Federal Assembly meeting continues today.

KDH Complaint of 'Blackmail' Reported

AU2207125191 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 18 Jul 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Attempt at Political Blackmail"]

[Text] During yesterday's meeting of both Federal Assembly chambers, some members of the legislature have qualified as political blackmail the content of the information that the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] was to be confronted with the fact that, if the referendum bill is not passed, it may well happen that the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] will not support the so-called church laws. "A few months ago we received the promise from our coalition partner, the VPN, that if KDH deputies give support to some economic laws, nothing will stand in the way of VPN deputies endorsing those laws that are close to our hearts," Marian Kapusta, deputy to the Federal Assembly for the KDH, told a CTK correspondent yesterday. According to Kapusta, this mainly concerned the law on amending some property relations of religious orders and congregations and of the Olomouc Archbishopric. As Deputy Kapusta went on to say, immediately before the vote the VPN withdrew its support, arguing however that the bill providing for the return of some property to churches is undemocratic and, as such, is unacceptable to the VPN. Marian Kapusta characterized this conduct as highly irresponsible. In his opinion, the KDH does not object to the referendum bill and, provided that certain proposals for amending it are accepted, it sees no reason not to vote for it.

Statistics Reveal Decline in Overall Production

AU2007183091 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Jul 91 pp 1, 9

["(hp)"-signed report: "A Steeper Decline in Industrial Production in June"]

[Text] Economic development during the first six months of the year, as seen from the preliminary results released yesterday by the Federal Statistical Office, was marked in particular by worsening marketing problems on the domestic and foreign markets and by the gradual implementation of transformation processes in the Czechoslovak economy.

Consumer prices in June—as opposed to December 1990—rose by 49.2 percent, while price increases in June—as opposed to May—rose by only 1.8 percent. By the end of June, the number of people looking for work reached 300,800, that is, 3.8 percent of the total number of people in the labor force. The reduced demand for agricultural products was reflected in the decline in sales of the primary animal products. We have already carried more detailed reports on this in previous editions of HOSPODARSKE NOVINY.

The Domestic Market

According to estimates, overall retail and public catering sales, including sales achieved by small enterprises and individual entrepreneurs, amounted to 26.9 billion korunas in June and—in comparison with last June—were 11.8 percent lower. From the beginning of the year to the end of June, overall retail and public catering sales, including sales achieved by small enterprises and individual entrepreneurs, amounted to 172.1 billion korunas and—as opposed to the first six months of last year—were 0.8 percent higher. Retail turnover in select commercial enterprises with more than 100 employees fell by 19.9 percent in June, as opposed to the same period last year, and by 7.2 percent during the first six months of the year. Of the organizations with monitored returns, only Cedok Interhotels recorded a retail turnover increase (by 56.4 percent) from the beginning of the year to the end of June. In select commercial enterprises with more than 100 employees, the physical volume of retail turnover was 44.4 percent lower during the first six months of this year than it was during the same period last year.

Industry

Overall industrial production (including small enterprises and the private sector) from January until May—while excluding the influence of prices as opposed to the same period last year—fell by an estimated 13.7 percent. Production fell by 14.5 percent in industry represented by enterprises with more than 100 employees.

According to estimates, overall industrial production in June was 32.3 percent lower than in the same month last year. In enterprises with more than 100 employees, the June decline in production was steeper—by 33.1 percent.

During the first six months of 1991, overall industrial production fell by 16.8 percent in comparison with the same period last year. The largest slumps in production were recorded in the clothing industry (36.7 percent) and in smelting non-ferrous metals (30.8 percent). An increase was only recorded in the fuels industry (2.4 percent).

Construction

According to estimates, overall construction output (including small enterprises and the private sector) from January until May was 24.2 percent lower than the same period last year. The decline in the volume of construction projects carried out in accordance with contracts by enterprises with more than 100 employees (ascertained from returns) from January to May amounted to 30 percent; 27.3 percent in the Czech Republic and 34.5 percent in the Slovak Republic. The decline in the volume of construction projects was manifested in all spheres of construction, more graphically in repairs and in other work than in new projects.

According to preliminary estimates, overall construction output fell by 26.3 percent during the first six months of the year in comparison with the same period in 1990. Construction projects carried out in accordance with contracts by construction enterprises with more than 100 employees fell during the first six months by 36.6 percent (32.8 percent in the Czech Republic and 42.8 percent in the Slovak Republic).

The number of employees in construction enterprises with more than 100 employees was 396,600 in the period from January to May. This is a 74,100 drop—that is, 15.7 percent—in comparison with last year. The number of employees in the Czech Republic fell by 14.9 percent during this period. In the Slovak Republic, the number fell by 17 percent. The productivity of labor calculated from the volume of construction projects carried out in accordance with contracts in enterprises with more than 100 employees fell by 24.8 percent—by 21.1 percent in the Czech Republic and by 31.1 percent in the Slovak Republic—during the first six months of this year in comparison to last year.

Freight Transportation

The decline in the volume of transported goods continued in June. From the beginning of the year to the end of June, 103.1 million tonnes of goods—that is, 20.8 percent less than in the same period last year—were transported by the public railroad network. A total of 4.2 million tonnes of goods—that is, 23.4 percent less than in the same period last year—were transported by river. The decline in transporting goods was influenced by lower demands on transporters as a consequence of the decline in the volume of industrial and construction output. Shipment of all the main kinds of secondary

materials declined. The average daily shipment in units fell by 22.4 percent from January to the end of June. The average time—in days—for the delivery of shipped units increased by 3.4 percent.

Communist Strength in Ministries Reported

AU2007124991 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 17 Jul 91 p 1

["ml"-signed report: "Successful Dialogue Between the Christian Democratic Movement and the Czechoslovak People's Party"]

[Excerpts] Engineer Josef Lux, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL], said in reply to a question from SLOVENSKY DENNIK at a news conference in Prague yesterday that "We maintain the best possible relations with the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and consider the KDH our good partner. In a coalition with them, we would also like to contest the forthcoming elections." [passage omitted]

The journalists attending the news conference were also presented with material concerning the strength of communists at some ministries. Using unofficial channels, the CSL managed to find out that, as late as April, communists made up 48 percent of the staff at the Federal Ministry of Economy and, at the beginning of January, 69 percent of the staff at the Federal Ministry of Transportation. The figures show that, on statewide average, communists hold about 51 percent of leading positions in decisive state bodies. Many people therefore rightly ask: Who, in fact, won the velvet revolution? The departure of the old cadres from the political, pragmatic, as well as moral standpoint, is necessary. [passage omitted]

Paper Reports on Former Communists in HZDS

AU1907170191 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Jul 91 p 13

[Reprint of report published in SLOBODNY PIATOK [Free Friday] No. 29: "Are There Former Communists in the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia?"]

[Text] We came across brief details from the biographies of the 51-member Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] political board in the For a Democratic Slovakia Supplement No. 5/91. This movement's detractors often attack it for grouping Communist Party of Slovakia [KSS] members in its ranks. SLOBODNY PIATOK No. 29 was interested in the following topical question: How many former communists will we find in the HZDS 50-member supreme political body? The findings were surprising:

—32 of the body's members were not at all politically oriented;

—seven members were expelled from the KSS after 1968;

—one member was expelled from the KSS for bourgeois nationalism in 1962;

—two members were in the KSS until 1989;

—nine members are politically unidentifiable because the appropriate information is not contained in the short biographies.

However, it would be interesting to find out how many former communists—until 1989—there are in the supreme bodies of the Public Against Violence movement, the Christian Democratic Movement, the Slovak National Party, or other parties and movements. Will we find out? Will they publish short biographies of their members? After all, the above-mentioned parties and movements have their own newspapers, and the public should know who is who.

Party Leaders Assess Union's Continued Existence

AU1907121391

[Editorial Report] Prague OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech on 17 July on page 2 carries a 200-word "oc"-signed report on a news conference with Josef Lux, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL], held in Prague on 16 July. Asked to comment on the split of the Christian and Democratic Union [KDU], Josef Lux reportedly said: "The KDU coalition continues; only one of its members has left it."

Prague OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech on 18 July on page 3 publishes the following statement by Vaclav Benda, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party [KDS]: "Let me set right the claim of CSL Chairman Josef Lux that 'the KDU coalition continues; only one of its members has left it:' The electoral and post-electoral KDU coalition was made up of three founding members—the KDS, the CSL, and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], with the KDH only assisting in the founding of the coalition as a mediator, while retaining its separate lists of candidates and clubs of deputies. If one of the two actual KDU members—the KDS—left the coalition, it means that the Union consists of one member only, the CSL, which, from now on, would like to act willfully under the name KDU, which is more acceptable to it."

HZDS Leader Denies Split in Slovak Movement

AU1907165791 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Jul 91 p 2

[J. Racz report: "The Movement For a Democratic Slovakia Is Not Being Held Back by Squabbles, It Is United"]

[Text] Prague—Reports have been circulating in the past few days that the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has split into two parts. Federal Assembly Deputy Ivan Laluha briefed our legislative correspondent on the true state of affairs within the movement:

"As a member of the HZDS Political Board, I would like to firmly deny these reports. The dearest wishes and hopes of some people are being passed off as fact. In this connection, I will ask the following question: Upon what could such unsubstantiated statements be based? I see the statements stemming from a couple of particular sources. First of all, issues are openly discussed in the HZDS. This is understandable for every movement that is establishing itself. For example, opinions about constitutional and legal arrangement have revealed that some members (the minority) prefer a federative arrangement, while others (the majority) are in favor of certain conditions for a confederative type of arrangement. Therefore, it is possible that someone construed the existence of disputes and streams from these policy discussions."

Press Comments on Proposal for Slovak Home Guard

AU2007150491

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 16 July publish 400 to 800-word commentaries reacting to the proposal of Jan Klepac, Slovak National Council deputy chairman from the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], to establish a Slovak "Home Guard." The press reactions available thus far are all negative, in both the Czech and Slovak press.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 16 July on page 1 carries a 400-word Jiri Hanak commentary entitled "Adventurism and Irrationality." The commentator recalls that Slovakia had a "home guard" once before—under President Tiso—and asks: "Against whom would it defend Slovakia? There appears to be only one possible enemy: the Federal Army, which is now being redeployed to Slovakia, which it does, among other things, at the request of former Prime Minister Meciar. Strange, is it not?"

According to Hanak, "Klepac's statement can be interpreted either as a provocation or as a trial balloon. I lean towards the latter. After all, the three basic prerequisites of a common federation—single foreign policy, finance, and defense—still work. The aim of this trial balloon was to make one of them shaky, one without which there can be no talk of a common state." Hanak compares Klepac's statement to the conduct of a fireman "using high-octane gasoline to extinguish a faintly glowing fire" and agrees with the assessment of Democratic Party Chairman Holcik, who has described Klepac's demand as "political adventurism" and "irrational."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 16 July on page 3 carries a 600-word Jan Fuele commentary entitled "Home Guard as a Blow. The Iron Fist of Slovak Interests?" Fuele views Klepac's proposal within a "broader context," as a reflection of growing tensions within the KDH and between the parties that make up the Slovak coalition government. He says: "The more radical streams within the KDH have recently criticized [Slovak Prime Minister] Jan Carnogursky for a lack of a principled policy toward Czech political circles. The Democratic Party, too, stopped voting 'as one man' long ago. (Although the dissent tends to come from one woman). [reference to Slovak National Council Deputy Chairwoman Olga Keltosova from the Democratic Party, who, unlike her party colleagues, voted for Klepac's proposal] Only the condemning voice of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, at its briefing yesterday, resounded with convincing unanimity. To sum it all up, the coalition parties seem to be always getting into new arguments and are thus becoming an easy target for the lurking opposition."

Turning to the merit of Klepac's proposal for a Home Guard itself, Fuele says that "since we have had experience with the 'armed fist of the workers class,' we should not replace it with the iron fist of Slovak interests."

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak on 16 July on page 3 carries a 500-word Oldrich Zabojnik commentary entitled "Escalation." Zabojnik qualifies Jan Klepac's proposal as an "evident political faux pas" that "did a disservice" to Prime Minister Carnogursky. "Levelheaded people in Bratislava" are reportedly "exasperated" because Klepac "gave the Czech side a new opportunity to rightly take exception to some phenomena on the Slovak political scene."

The proposal itself is not "all that surprising," according to Zabojnik, because "it fits into the overall strategy." Individual political forces are escalating their demands so that they can achieve the maximum. The commentator is convinced that "we will live to see other radical attempts, besides which the present 'home guard maneuvers' will look like innocent child's play."

A similar position is expressed by Marian Bednar in a 500-word commentary in Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 16 July on page 2. Bednar regrets Klepac's proposal because "it has provided the theory about the alleged radicalism of Slovaks that is being cultivated on the other side of the Morava River with a new encouraging injection" and because "it has not made the negotiating position of the Slovak political representation vis-a-vis the Czech side any easier."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 July on page 2 carries an 800-word Peter Kuchar commentary entitled "Home Guard, and What Next?; Coalition Talks on the Pages of the Press." Kuchar criticizes Klepac for having failed to specify what the Home Guard's exact duties would be. He himself then ponders about possible uses of the Home Guard, subsequently dismissing each possibility because the Home Guard would merely duplicate existing structures or get into conflict with them. If it were to be used to combat natural or industrial catastrophes and accidents, Kuchar says, it would duplicate the assignment of the three Civil Defense regiments that the Army is currently building in Slovakia for that purpose. If the Home Guard were to be deployed during a state of emergency or other "extraordinary needs of state protection, such as during a civil war," it would inevitably "get

into conflict" with Interior Ministry troops, which are under the command of the federal minister of interior. And if it were to be used to combat acts of "violence and vandalism," as Klepac suggested, it would serve as a "kind of a police force."

Kuchar points out that "Mr. Klepac forgot that, in the CSFR, there is a military doctrine of federal state defense (that not even the KDH has rejected), on which the existence of the Home Guard would have to be based." The commentator therefore concludes that the establishment of the Home Guard would only make sense if Slovakia were an independent state.

Meciar Expresses Support for Slovak Home Guard

AU2007174191 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Jul 91 p 2

[B. Olach report: "A Home Guard Could Be Useful"]

[Text] Bratislava—They will not make us eat our hearts out, and they will not bring us to our knees. Not by their ever increasing attacks, not by the misinformation campaign being prepared against individual Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] politicians, and not by Public Against Violence Movement [VPN] obstructions—especially in the districts—in handing over half the VPN's property to the HZDS. This is what Vladimir Meciar said yesterday to the approximately 90 participants in his press briefing. The political express is moving quickly, and he emphasized that the HZDS will not allow itself to feel put down by anything insubstantial.

V. Meciar firmly denied HZDS participation in the preparation of the agriculture strike, and he described such claims as a cheap attempt to transfer responsibility from the government to the political mistakes of others. Totalitarianism has been defeated, but its methods are still being used.

V. Meciar also rejected the charges of hypocrisy against the HZDS. HZDS deputies supported the Slovak Government's innovative program because it was drafted under the Meciar government and was, in fact, supplemented by suggestions from R. Filkus. However, he admitted that HZDS deputies in the Federal Assembly did not vote for the adoption of the law on bankruptcy because it is not in harmony with their policy. This brought about their isolation during the bargaining procedure, since they voted against it in the first round.

The HZDS does not support the referendum law—which the Federal Assembly is debating—because it gives federal bodies an opportunity to force a referendum on the republics regardless of their points of view.

V. Meciar described development in Slovakia as very lopsided. He pointed out that today it is possible to chart all the areas threatened by severe social shocks, for example, Kysuce, Nitra, Velky Krtis, and East Slovakia. However, it is as if the government does not know about it. The HZDS wants to help in initiating the establishment of 30 clubs of experts, regardless of their political affiliation, whose sections would make constructive statements about burning issues.

V. Meciar described J. Holcik's reaction to J. Klepac's proposal for a home guard as hysterical and his analogy with the people's militia as nonsense. A home guard could have a significant role during natural disasters and other catastrophes.

The HZDS decisively rejects classifying the trade unions in accordance with their political, religious, or national affiliations. Meciar called this an extraordinarily dangerous process that could harm the working people's social interests.

Democratic Party Opposition to Guard Reported

AU2007162891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Jul 91 p 2

[CTK report: "We Have a Police Force, Do We Not? The Democratic Party Issued Another Statement on the Home Guard"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Democratic Party Executive Committee Presidium delivered to CTK a statement that says among other things: "The Democratic Party rejects as a matter of principle the idea of creating a Home Guard in Slovakia at a time when our society is not a state ruled by law, since only the foundations of such a state are being laid at present. The Democratic Party's programmatic aim is the creation of a state based on the rule of law, in which personal freedom, security, and the protection of the property of citizens would be safeguarded by the armed police force. If Deputy Klepac [from the Christian Democratic Movement, who on 11 July proposed the formation of a Slovak Home Guard] believes that citizens' security is jeopardized, let him seek a solution in reinforcing the powers of the police, rather than in the creation of the Home Guard.

Carnogursky Views Economic, Administrative Reforms

LD1907181191 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Lubomir Lindtner; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lindtner] Mr. Premier, on 16 July you raised your voice at the end of the 16th meeting of the Slovak National Council, when you came to the microphone following the speech by Deputy Ivan Luptak from the Party of Democratic Left. A short quote from your speech: The exclusive responsibility for the Sverma ironworks is born by the communist regime that was in power here. I am asking Mr. Luptak not to pose the problem of the Sverma ironworks in a contrary light.

[Carnogursky] Deputy Luptak's speech was sufficiently characteristic of the attitude of many former communists or present communists about their responsibility for the past regime. Simply, they far too easily smoothed over their responsibility without saying a word regarding the fact that they caused what was here, or that their movement caused it. Now they criticize everything, and they blame everything on the current regime or the current government.

The main problem of our economy is, for example, the great indebtedness of enterprises, an indebtedness that has been growing for whole decades. The next problem of our economy is the disappearance of the eastern markets toward which our enterprises were unilaterally oriented and the inability of enterprises to make their mark in western markets, at least in this situation.

Naturally, artificial links that exist in inner-enterprise management, as well as in inter-enterprise relations—all of these shortcomings of our economy have been arising for decades, and the communists have responsibility for them. Now, suddenly, the communists criticize the government for, let us say, in this particular case, the Sverma ironworks in Podbrezova. These ironworks were built to export some 80 percent of its produce to the USSR. Can the present government help the Sverma ironworks? Are we to send tanks in to win markets for the Sverma ironworks?

In other words, one simply cannot pose problems in such a demagogic way and, at least, one has to examine one's conscience as to how representatives of the past regime caused our present problems.

[Lindtner] Deputy Ivan Luptak, in his address in connection with the post-November developments, also asked the following question: Should terror and unemployment be the fruits of democracy? He represented a certain interest group. Categorically, the completion of this idea was as follows: We did not imagine democracy in this way. How would you argue with such a group of people?

[Carnogursky] Economically and politically. But let us talk about economics. Development in this state was heading for 40 years in a false, incorrect, and artificial direction. When, after 40 years, in 1989, it turned out that the direction was wrong, it collapsed, and we now must, almost from the very beginning, gradually build a new structure of the economy. We must build it in such a way that small enterprises, small entrepreneurs, should begin to organize their private production anew, without excessive bureaucratic apparatus. They must, and they are building it in such a way that they know how flexibly to adjust to the needs of the market.

But this rebuilding of our economy cannot be achieved overnight. Naturally, the government is trying to help large enterprises as much as possible—and, it seems to me, quite successfully. For example, arms enterprises: it is becoming evident that, after all, they are not so badly off as it seemed about a year ago, or even three quarters of a year ago, because we have civilian programs for them that have been partially introduced; others are being introduced or will be introduced. The rates of conversion have been adjusted to the realistic possibilities of our economy, as well as the demand. This could be said also about other large factories. But in any case, it is not possible to do it as fast as we all would like to imagine.

[Lindtner] You mentioned enterprises in arms production. This week, Atwood, the U.S. deputy secretary of defense, was in Slovakia. What are your first reports from his visit?

[Carnogursky] The U.S. delegation consisted first of representatives of ministries, second of representatives of large U.S. enterprises—General Motors, General Electric, and so on, that were to gain some idea about our needs on location, as well as about our possibilities.

The visit of this U.S. delegation is important from two points of view. First, the United States is thus giving us certain political support for rebuilding our arms industry. And second, the Americans are able to mediate for us in actual situations: first, in situations consisting of the introduction of further peace programs, and second—and that's what we asked them for—to take over the products in their distribution network of those factories either in peace programs or formerly in arms production, thus ensuring that there will be no international complications in the sale of our arms technology.

On the other hand, a day or two prior to the visit of the U.S. delegation, the first contract was signed that is, so to speak, the result of the talks. That is, an agreement was signed in Bratislava between Podpoljanske Strojirny Detva and Cannon technologies of Salt Lake City in the United States about setting up a joint enterprise.

[Lindtner] The Slovak Council also approved changes in the structure of the ministries. You explained the government standpoint to the deputies. Can you also acquaint the listeners with the reasons for abolishing the Ministry for Economic Strategy and for the birth of the Ministry of Transport and Communications?

[Carnogursky] The last bill is the result of the current discussions on how to make sense of the highest bodies of state administration in Slovakia. Setting up the Ministry of Transport and Communications had its rationale in that the Slovak Government has considerably extensive powers in the sphere of transportation. They have so far been divided into two ministries: a part of the problems of transportation was under the Ministry of the Interior, another part at the Ministry of the Economy. The problems of communications have now been taken by the Ministry of the Economy from the Federal Ministry of Communications, on the basis of the power-sharing bill. This means that, from this point of view only, it was necessary to set up a single ministry that would concentrate the problems of transport and communications in Slovakia.

Abolishing the Ministry for Economic Strategy is the result of the deliberations over the economic strategy that must be created on the basis of scientific knowledge of the state of the economy and developmental trends, and not on the basis of some kind of bureaucratic red tape directives that can be issued by the ministry. It is for this reason that a part of the program of the Ministry for Economic Strategy will be worked out by the economic scientific institutes, possibly the Committee for Economic Strategy, that will not be an organ of state administration. These will be working out analyses on the bases of which the deputy prime minister or other economic ministries will create their economic strategy, and the government as a whole will create the overall economic strategy. Within the framework of newly delimiting the contents of the ministries, we have also decided that the problems of foreign trade will be solved in Slovakia at the Ministry of Trade.

[Lindtner] The existence of the Slovak Ministry of Transport and Communications was approved by the Slovak National Council, but its practical birth will not be simple. I am being led to this observation by the attitude of Federal Minister of Communications Emil Ehrenbergher, who expressed in a radio interview the idea that it is, I quote, the result of the political aims of Slovak politicians. So much for the quote. What do you say about it, Mr. Prime Minister?

[Carnogursky] The argument with Federal Minister of Communications Ehrenberger is unpleasant for us. It is unpleasant for him personally too, the more so since the Christian Democratic Movement appointed him to this post. As I have said, the Slovak Ministry of Transport and Communications is a completely logical result of Slovakia's power in the matter of transport and communications. That is why it is most important that transport and communications should be under one ministry. The argument with the federal minister of communications is about who will have the founding role with regard to telecommunications enterprises in Slovakia—the Federal Ministry of Communications or the Slovak Ministry of Transport and Communications? This argument arises from differing interpretations of the constitutional bill on power sharing, and during the recent talks with Prime Minister Calfa and Prime Minister Petr Pithart, we agreed that we will set up a commission of experts—lawyers and communications employees—that will concern itself with these problems and will make recommendations to the prime ministers.

[Lindtner] Last week, the president of the republic met with the prosecutor general to ask him if there was a breach of the law with the registration of DAK MOVA Slusovice in Bratislava. I have in mind a quote by a character from Vaclav Havel's play "Audience": What paradoxes! In the case of the president, it is as if there was some search for negative aspects; in your case, it is a search for positive aspects...

[Carnogursky] In my case, there was no search for positive aspects; it was noting the fact that the former Slusovice, in fact in Bratislava now, has been and is a successful enterprise. By coincidence, prior to the revolution in 1988, I represented as a lawyer the present Federal Assembly Deputy Stanislav Devaty against Slusovice in a work dispute, when he was expelled from the Slusovice cooperative farm. It seems that then I was defending the law against Slusovice for the benefit of Stanislav Devaty. Now, I can demonstrate that I am interested in seeing that laws are as valid for Slusovice as they are for everybody else. I admit that, in deciding to accept chairman Frantisek Cuba, the fact that he had earlier donated 100,000 korunas to several humanitarian organizations for humanitarian aims played a part.

[Lindtner] Slusovice represents on the Czech political scene what I would call a hot potato. Will this not be transferred to Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] it will not be transferred as a hot potato. The president has asked the prosecutor general to examine the legality of Slusovice's registration. That is perfectly in order. I imagine that the prosecutor general will do it. If he finds some shortcomings in registering Slusovice, then Slusovice will continue to exist. I repeat: Slusovice will have to adhere to the law just as all other organizations and citizens do, and I must say that Chairman Cuba of DAK MOVA left no doubt about Slusovice wanting to adhere to the laws. It will comply with the law.

Controversy Over Agriculture Minister Continues

AU1907121691

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES and Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 18 July publish several items related to the conflict between Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart and Czech Minister of Agriculture Bohumil Kubat, whose resignation Pithart demands.

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 18 July on page 1 carries a 300-word undated interview with Petr Pithart by Ondrej Neff. In the interview, Pithart is asked to respond to Minister Kubat's claim that he is the target of an "attack from the left." Pithart admits that every change in the government is a political issue. He denies, however, that the conflict is about Kubat's political orientation: "I do not reproach Minister Kubat for the kind of policy he wanted to implement, but for the fact that he was only talking about it, rather than implementing it." He does not want the Ministry of Agriculture to "change course," Pithart says, he only wants it to be headed by "a helmsman who would really stand at the helm (instead of constantly running away from it) and who would give his crew clear and comprehensible directives." Kubat's theory about a "left-wing conspiracy" would only be credible, Pithart goes on to say, if he, Pithart, "intended to propose as Kubat's successor a communist or someone with leftist views, such as Mr. Trnka." The fact that Kubat's successor "will most likely come from the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]" disproves this theory. Besides, all right-wing

parties, with the exception of the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Christian Democratic Party, agree with the need to replace Kubat, Pithart says.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 18 July on page 7 carries a 500-word undated interview with Bohumil Kubat by Jan Urban entitled "I Will Not Swap." In the interview, Kubat argues that the situation in agriculture "is not as tragic" as it is made out to be and that the ministry is able to cope with it. He opposes any changes in the government at this moment because "any new minister would need four to five months to find his footing, and then he would plunge into the election campaign and no work would get done." Kubat stresses that he needs, "above all, calm" for his work. In this context, he complains that "since last Friday, we have had at the Ministry of Agriculture three inspections from the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Control," that "did little to improve the working atmosphere here."

Asked whether he would accept the position of a "special government commissioner for uncovering agricultural mafias," proposed to him by Prime Minister Pithart, Kubat replies that "this is not a fortunate idea," as this position would duplicate the powers of the Ministry of Interior. "I would not swap voluntarily," Kubat says.

On the same day, on page 16, LIDOVE NOVINY carries a 150-word "dr"-signed report on a briefing given by ODS Deputy Chairman P. Cermak in Prague on 17 July. Commenting on the dispute over the Czech Ministry of Agriculture, Cermak says: "The ODS does not intend to announce the name of its candidate for the post of minister of agriculture as long as the Pithart-Kubat conflict is not definitively settled. It would not object, however, if the post of minister were temporarily held by Czech Deputy Prime Minister J. Strasky. The ODS disagrees with Prime Minister Pithart's course of action, but at the same time it knows about certain mistakes made by Minister Kubat."

Pithart on Controversy With Minister Kubat

AU1907125091

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 17 July on pages 1 and 5, under the headline "Prime Minister Versus Minister: Irreconcilable," publishes a 1,300-word interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Jaroslav Veis. The place and date of the interview, which deals with the controversy between Pithart and Agriculture Minister Kubat, are not given. Pithart begins by reiterating the complaints against Kubat that led him to ask for the latter's resignation. The most serious among the grievances are the accusations of misguided activity at the ministry, lack of communication with the government, and the dearth of a general agricultural policy.

Veis, asks about the involvement of Mr. Trnka, chairman of the Agrarian Party, but Pithart replies: "I deny categorically that a third person is involved in the controversy. I have not had any discussion with Mr. Trnka. I only met him in the manner I meet representatives of all parties, at the beginning of January." Asked whether it is true that Trnka was to become one of his agricultural advisers, Pithart says: "It has never been mentioned. There is no chance of it." Regarding the politics of the Agrarian Party, he observes that it represents a certain interest that must be admitted as legitimate. "Every interest expressed through democratic means is a legitimate one. I do not intend to follow the policy of that party but rather simply take it into consideration." Regarding the replacement for Minister Kubat, Pithart says that it will depend on the coalition political parties, and he goes on to say that he read that the Civic Democratic Party would insist on Mr. Cervinka. Pithart says that he believes Mr. Cervinka's candidacy to be justified. However, "the proposal will be formulated in the coalition negotiation." The negotiations, he says, should begin now. "If I knew that an extraordinary session of the Czech National Council Presidium would decide either way by a marginal vote, I would not dare to call it." If, on the other hand, Pithart says, "the vote showed strong support for my motion, I would consider calling the Presidium session even earlier." Should the clubs support Kubat, Pithart says, "they would take over the responsibility for the state of the sector. Our Constitution is such that the prime minister does not have the power to recall a minister."

Greens No Longer Oppose Completion of Danube Dam

AU1907160391 Prague CTK in English 1254 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Bratislava July 17 (CTK)— The Slovak Greens Party announced today it is "not opposed" to the completion of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric plant, provided the Slovak Environment Commission's 19-point program for minimizing environmental damage is adhered to.

Czechoslovak-Hungarian negotiations on the project held here on Monday failed to produce an agreement between the two sides. Hungary, which stopped work on the Danube power plant in August 1989, is intent on annulling the 1977 bilateral agreement on building dams at Gabcikovo and Nagymaros. But Czechoslovakia, citing a potential loss of 20,000 million crowns (666.7 million dollars) [currencies as received], insists on completing at least the dam on Slovak territory.

The Hungarian government said July 11 it is willing to build and pay for a network of gas turbines equivalent in output to the planned system in Gabcikovo if Slovakia agrees to abandon the project. So far the answer is no, but Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky said the government will take a final decision in its July 23 session.

Peter Sabo, chairman of the Greens and a member of Slovak parliament, told reporters his party's main objection to the Slovak Economics Ministry's strategy is that it is oriented towards nuclear energy. The Greens instead

favor electricity-saving measures, especially in industry, and the development of gas-burning steam power plants.

The industrialized countries' nuclear industry lobby is selfishly pushing atomic energy on Czechoslovakia in order to unload its outmoded equipment, Sabo said.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 18 July on page 2 carries a 250-word CTK report on the Slovak Greens' news conference. According to the report, Peter Sabo demanded that "Ivan Carnogursky resign either from the post of first deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council or from the post of director of Hydrostav," a construction company involved in the Gabcikovo project, because it regards these two positions as "incompatible."]

Slovak Press Criticizes Hungary on Dam Project

AU1907162591 Prague CTK in English 0725 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] Bratislava— The Slovak daily "NARODNA OBRODA" publishes an article headlined "Something Like an Open Letter to the Prime Minister of the Hungarian Republic," on the controversial Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project on the Danube. It says that attempts to delay the start-up of the Slovak section of the project at Gabcikovo and prevent the use of facilities built on Hungarian territory "are no longer just a failure to fulfill the contract, but an intentional interference in the internal affairs of a neighboring sovereign state." If Hungary thinks it is entitled not to build the Nagymaros section, despite the valid agreement, then the Czechoslovak side is all the more entitled to decide that the Gabcikovo section will be completed, "NARODNA OBRODA" writes.

"SLOVENSKY DENNIK," the daily of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), says the Gabcikovo project must be finished by 1992 when the Rhine, the Danube, and the Main will be interlinked. Every delay beyond this date will mean serious losses for the Slovak economy. The paper says "it is high time to stop listening to various doom sayers, emotional adversaries, and people politically biased against Gabcikovo, regardless of whether they are based in Budapest, Samorin, Prague, or Bratislava."

Dobrovsky Comments on Talks With U.S. Official

AU1907160491 Prague CTK in English 1228 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 17 (CTK)— U.S. President George Bush has decided to ease restrictions on the sale of certain military technologies to Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary Donald J. Atwood told Czechoslovak Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky on the second day of his four-day visit to Czechoslovakia.

Dobrovsky told CTK that he welcomed the news because "the import of certain technologies should facilitate a more rapid conversion of the Czechoslovak arms industry."

According to Dobrovsky, the U.S. Administration is worried that a breakdown of the economies of Central and Eastern Europe could lead to instability in the region. To help to prevent this, it is encouraging top U.S. arms manufacturers to participate in the conversion of Czechoslovak weapons plants.

Dobrovsky said the branches of the arms industry with the best chances of survival include the production of firearms and certain makes of aircraft, military electronics, and up-to-date ammunition.

Czechoslovakia asked the United States earlier this year for help in reorganizing its arms industry for civilian production. While in Washington last April Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier gave Atwood Czechoslovakia's plan for the conversion process.

Atwood then offered to compile a list of U.S. companies that might want to invest in the factories affected. The possibility of cooperation in the production of small firearms was also raised. Dienstbier said Czechoslovakia would like to export sporting and hunting arms to the United States.

Atwood's current visit to Czechoslovakia will allow him to see the problems connected with conversion firsthand. On May 6, the U.S. Administration criticized Czechoslovakia's intention to export 100 T-72 tanks to Syria and probably also other weaponry. The money from the deal would be used to finance the conversion of arms plants, which are mostly located in Slovakia. According to some estimates, 80,000 jobs are at risk if no new programs are found for the plants.

The Czechoslovak arms industry also figured prominently in the talks held by Dobrovsky in Washington in June. Dobrovsky was the first East European defense minister to visit the United States.

Today, Atwood will inspect the AERO Vodochooy aircraft manufacturing plant near Prague and tomorrow he will go to the large Slovak arms factories at Martin and Dubnica nad Vahom.

Party Representatives on Restructuring Coalition

AU2007125791 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 18 Jul 91 p 4

[Interview with various representatives of legislative parties by Demeny, Saman, Torok, and Varju; place and date not given: "Opinions on a Four-Party Coalition—The Marrying of Fire and Water"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] ".... the maintenance of the coalition is not the only possibility. A four-party broad coalition is a possible option, but not the only one." Janos Kis, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, said this in his interview that was published in another newspaper yesterday on 17 July. This is not the first time that various combinations surfaced in connection with the idea of changing the government structure. However, it is worth paying attention this time because the respected leader of the strongest opposition party has raised the possibility. Our correspondent asked the representatives of the other five legislative parties about this issue.

Imre Furman, Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]:

"This is a combination worth paying attention to, one of many versions."

Bela Nemeth, general secretary of the Independent Smallholders' Party:

"Janos Kis invented a wonderful set-up. The only thing I do not know is on what basis because either there is no difference between the government parties and the opposition, or he is trying to marry water and fire. I do not think that this would suit the MDF because they have so far promulgated a party policy based on a Christian mentality."

Miklos Gaspar, Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]:

"This is not the first time that Janos Kis has explained that, in his opinion, a different government set-up is necessary in place of the present coalition. The coalition parties have not accepted and still do not accept his opinion. I do not think it is possible for this kind of a four-party government to be set up in this legislative period. The current political line and the economic and social concept of the SZDSZ are diametrically opposed to the policy of the coalition and the KDNP. The SZDSZ's role in the legislative debate on compensation and church properties is a good example of this. Therefore, I do not think that Janos Kis' suggestion is realistic. Besides, we would only have to think about the establishment of such a broad coalition if our country was in a catastrophic situation."

Mrs. Magda Kovacs Kosa, spokeswoman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] faction:

"I completely agree with half of Janos Kis' statement, namely that the sort of autumn we are going to have depends on whether the political stalemate is resolved. The government coalition is getting into increasingly deep water because they do not have the right priorities between the issues that affect the great masses and the ones that are only important for a political elite. Everything depends on whether the government continues to follow the wrong route or whether it deals with the really important issues. Ownership is disordered, we do not have a law on land and cooperatives, and there are the unsolved questions of our social security. I think that today the MSZP is the only legislative party that is not blinded by the promise of power. The issue of the four-party coalition is a matter for people who are in power or close to power, and not a matter for the MSZP. We are interested in solving real problems and everything that contributes to that suits the MSZP."

Tamas Deutsch, Federation of Young Democrats:

"Janos Kis said that he thought a four-party coalition was conceivable. The word conceivable can be understood a number of ways. I understand it as a train of thought and nothing more. There certainly are some signs that the current government coalition is breaking up, but I do not think this kind of a four-party coalition is a realistic option just now."

MDF Official: No Need To Rethink Coalition

AU2007125491 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 Jul 91 p 3

["H"-signed interview with Imre Konya, leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's group of deputies; place and date not given: "Imre Konya on the SZDSZ Chairman's Statement—We Have No Reason To Rethink the Coalition"—first paragraph is UJ MAGYARORSZAG introduction]

[Text] Janos Kis, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], stated in NEPSZABADSAG on 17 July that a coalition government cannot be maintained in the current domestic political situation; there should either be a so-called broad coalition that would include the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] and the SZDSZ beside the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], or the MDF should form a minority government.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Mr. Konya, what is your opinion about this?

[Konya] I can understand the leader of the SZDSZ, but I cannot agree with him. Since our election victory, we have become used to being urged from all directions to also include somehow the biggest opposition party in government, instead of setting up government with our natural allies, the Smallholders and the Christian Democrats. In the beginning, an MDF-SZDSZ big coalition was suggested to us. I am convinced that the MDF leadership did the right thing when it resisted the temptation to form a big coalition by not giving in to the advice given from Hungary and from abroad and to the pressure of common opinion that had been strengthened by the mass media. Having parties in a coalition as different from each other as the MDF and the

SZDSZ would have had an unfavorable effect on the development of the whole Hungarian democratic multiparty structure. Indeed, the present set-up means that parties that are close to each other work together both on the government and on the opposition side, and this has a beneficial influence on the development of our multiparty political structure. We must not forget that our democratic political system has hardly been established, and its early consolidation is a fundamental interest of both our country and of democracy. To have different parties on the same side in this formative phase is disadvantageous for the development of party political formations.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] The opposition parties complain that you allowed the Smallholders' views to dominate the Compensation Law.

[Konya] This is partly true, because naturally, the views of our coalition partners have to appear in our decisions—but only as long as as they are not in conflict with our basic aims, and they are in harmony with the national interests and the interests of the whole society. I remind you that originally, the Smallholders spoke about a complete reprivatization, but we decided to the contrary—and we stuck to our decision—namely, that state and cooperative property will be converted to private property by selling the objects of so-called public property, and not by returning all unlawfully confiscated property. Therefore, we did not give in to the Smallholders on this point, but we certainly brought a solution they agreed with, by overcoming the resistance of the opposition parties, and by consistently sticking to our principles and intentions. This solution ensures that previous owners will have a chance when state and cooperative property is converted to private ownership during the privatization of state property. In the case of arable land, we provided a chance for people to get back the land that had been taken away from them at the time. The question was over who should be able to have a share from "public property." The opposition parties said that only people who have adequate funds to be able to purchase them, while we said also those people whose property the state had unlawfully taken away. This could hardly have been achieved in a grand coalition, or even in a "broad coalition," because this was a cardinal issue indeed, namely who should possess the mass of state and cooperative property. As far as the future is concerned, I feel that cooperation in our coalition is even less threatened than before. There were real differences of opinion between the Independent Smallholders' Party and the MDF on the issue of the return of ownership, but our coalition was strong enough to overcome these differences of opinion. In the future, I expect hardly any fundamental issues to emerge on which the coalition parties would find themselves confronting each other. Therefore, I see no reason for the MDF to seriously consider the advice of the SZDSZ chairman regarding the rethinking of the coalition.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] The idea of a minority government has also emerged several times already. What is your opinion about that?

[Konya] It would be impossible to legislate on the necessary number of issues in a minority government, because we would need to go through the same reconciliation necessary today to pass every single act in the case of laws that require a two-thirds majority. Legislation would be slowed down and we would not be able to carry out our tasks.

Labor Ministry Issues Latest Unemployment Figures

AU2207085891 Budapest MTI in English 1332 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, 18 July (MTI)—There were 185,554 people registered as unemployed in Hungary at the end of June, the Ministry of Labour announced at a news conference in Budapest on Thursday.

This is a growth of around 100,000 over six months, as the figure at the end of 1990 was 80,000. The number of people who receive unemployment benefit and various other benefits was 145,081, fewer than the actual number of unemployed, due to various reasons which exclude the remainder from aid.

Gyorgy Schamschula, secretary of state of the Ministry of Labour, said unemployment may be as high as 300,000 by the end of the year.

At present, 3.9 percent of the population within the working age range are unemployed. The national average shows considerable disproportions: The unemployment rate in Budapest is 0.9 percent, as compared to 9.5, 8.8, and 6.6 percent in the three hardest hit north-eastern counties. On average, 8 vacancies are offered to 100 job-seekers by the employment agencies.

Dismissals are mainly due to a decline in domestic demand, the reduction of Soviet exports, the elimination of unprofitable production, lack of basic production materials, and privatization measures. The collapse of the Eastern market will have effects on the employment situation in the second half of the year and, according to certain estimates, a further 150,000-200,000 workers might lose their jobs.

Spokesman on IMF Survey, Budget Deficit

LD1907201691 Budapest MTI in English 1648 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, July 19 (MTI)—Unlike the parliament, the government will not take a summer recess. The ministers will go on holiday one by one, while the body will continue to meet once a week, spokesman Balazs Laszlo told the press of the decisions reached in the government's Thursday session in Budapest on Friday.

The government reviewed the position of the National Social Security Directorate. General Director Jozsef Botos, who was invited to the spokesman's briefing, said that the social security is in a precarious situation and likely to slide into the red by the end of the year, with over 30,000 million forints of outstanding liabilities owed by some 3,500 companies.

With regard to the outcome of the IMF survey on Hungary, the finance minister reported to the government that the country's economic performance over the first six months was described as favourable on the whole. The IMF delegation appreciated the vigorous growth of personal savings and the keeping of inflation at its planned level, but voiced concern over the position of the social security budget. To gain access to the next IMF credit installments, the government has decided to set up a monitoring system.

Reporting on the state budget, the finance minister pointed out that the problems stemming from the change in markets and the drop in production were greater than expected, and the revenues derived from overall economic activity had decreased. Moreover, a number of ministries had asked for extra money from the budget. As a result, the deficit rose to 51,000 million forints in the second quarter of the year. According to the finance minister, the process is still controllable.

During its Thursday session, the government adopted the report on the guidelines for the new code on working practices, calling for further discussions on the matter with the trade unions and the interest co-ordination council. The proposal on the new code is scheduled to go before the government again by late August, and to parliament in September. According to the concept, the state will withdraw as far as possible from its present role of regulating working conditions in law, limiting its intervention to defining the relevant elements to be guaranteed, such as the number of hours to be worked per week, the ceiling on extra hours, compulsory rest time, the duration of holidays, the circumstances for lawful dismissal and so on. The effect of the code will only cover the private sector, with the legal status of civil servants to be regulated by a separate law.

The government has decided to set up an ad hoc committee to decide on the future of the about 40 real estates to be freed in the course of army reforms.

Answering the question whether the fact that MTI's previous leaders were appointed by the president of the republic and the new deputy general director by the prime minister does not mean a shift from the position of a national medium towards that of a government body, Balazs Laszlo said that no kind of conclusion can be drawn from the mode of appointment.

'No Delivery Problems' in Oil Imports Expected

LD1907154391 Budapest MTI in English 1352 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, July 19 (MTI)—Some 170,000 tonnes of oil will be arriving from the Soviet Union and another 250,000 tonnes from Iran in Hungary in July, an official from the National Oil and Gas Trust (NOGT) told MTI on Friday.

No delivery problems are expected in the third quarter of this year, as contracts have already been signed for NOGT to import 600,000 tonnes of oil from the Soviet Union and 400,000-500,000 tonnes from Adriatic ports via the Adria pipeline.

In the first half of this year, Hungary purchased 2.6 million tonnes of oil, 1.4 million of which came from the Soviet Union.

Foreign Minister Jeszensky Summarizes U.S. Talks

LD2007190991 Budapest MTI in English 1811 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Washington, July 20 (MTI)—Considerable interest continues to be shown for Central Europe, irrespective of the Soviet Union, and the American administration invariably sees the assistance of Hungary as one of its priority tasks, was how Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky summed up the experiences of his visit to Washington, in a statement with MTI.

The foreign minister's two-day, unofficial visit included several diverse, high-level discussions. He met Vice-President Dan Quayle, and held talks with Lawrence Eagleburger, the acting secretary of state, Richard Cheney, secretary of defence, and other senior officials.

In London, the G-7 declared the West would continue to give preference to assisting those Central-Eastern European countries which have achieved considerable progress in creating a democratic state based on market economy. At the same time, the Hungarian Government also agrees with providing assistance to the Soviet Union for the transformation of its economy, for its coming abreast of the West. This is all the more in the interest of Hungary as this could make it possible to revive economic relations, and for the Soviet Union to repay its debts which total almost 2,000 million dollars, the foreign minister said.

In answer to a question about the Yugoslav situation, Jeszenszky said: A welcome fact was that Washington considers the Hungarian position shown in the matter to be good, and, as Eagleburger said, they did not misunderstand the statement of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall about Vojvodina.

Romania was one of the themes touched upon at Jeszenszky's meeting with Eagleburger, in the course of discussing minority issues. The American side said that the ensurance of human rights, the fulfilment of obligations accepted in the CSCE process, are preconditions of assistance to be provided to Bucharest. Jeszenszky said Hungary naturally does not oppose the Western assistance of Romania, it is a common interest that follows from the fact that poverty is the breeding ground of nationalism and impatience.

Vice-President Dan Quayle, who heads the government while President Bush is away, showed great interest for the Hungarian position in several international issues.

Jeszenszky's talks with Secretary of Defence Richard Cheney in the Pentagon focused on the security situation of the Central-European region, and factors that

endanger stability. Cheney was interested to hear how the new democracies intend to see to their security.

Jeszenszky also participated in a conference entitled "The Expanding Borders of Global Freedom" at the invitation of the Claremont Institute of California. He also held a lecture in Los Angeles, and met with local Hungarians.

The next stage in the intensive Hungarian-American relations is expected to be the visit of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to New York this autumn. The prime minister is to address the UN General Assembly in early October, and will take the opportunity to meet with senior American politicians.

Delegation Welcomes CSCE Talks on Minorities

LD1907211191 Budapest MTI in English 1846 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Geneva, July 19 (MTI)—The Hungarian delegation welcomes the results achieved at the expert session dealing with national minorities within the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, said Hungarian Secretary of State Geza Entz, the leader of the Hungarian delegation, in his address at the closing session of the conference in Geneva on Friday.

Entz noted that although the Hungarian delegation had hoped for a more comprehensive analysis on how the member states fulfil their obligations related to the national minorities which they accepted in the framework of the CSCE, several important proposals were made at the conference, apart from those which were included in the closing report.

'The countries of the Pentagonale, together with Poland, have endeavoured, with some success, to attain that the document accord to the requirements of the age. The joint initiative of France and Hungary, which proposed further steps in the interest of the national minorities, can serve as basis for future decisions,' Entz said.

The secretary of state also said the conference had proven that special efforts are needed with respect to the national minorities particularly in countries which have just recently stepped on the road to democracy. We, Hungarians, feel we should take urgent measures to protect the national minorities, Entz said. 'We hope that partners in a similar situation also share this opinion,' he stressed, and added that safeguarding and promoting the identity of the minorities requires special measures.

Entz also said the conference had truly reaffirmed that the national minorities are an international issue, and not merely the internal affair of the countries concerned.

Official on Secretariat for National Minorities

AU1807162991 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 17 Jul p 4

["N.E."-signed interview with Geza Entz, state secretary at the Secretariat for Hungarians Living Beyond Our Borders; place and date not given: "We Offer a Constructive Partnership"—first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] The Secretariat of National and Ethnic Minorities was established two years ago, and it was led by Csaba Tabajdi, in a deputy ministerial position. This institute dealt with the affairs of Hungary's national minorities and the cause of Hungarians living beyond our borders. The Antall government, that was formed in spring 1990, divided the tasks and the office into two. The Office for National and Ethnic Minorities deals with the national minorities in Hungary, and the Secretariat of Hungarians Living Beyond Our Borders deals with Hungarians abroad.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What sort of changes resulted from this reorganization in the life of the office?

[Entz] The cause of national minorities has gradually come to the forefront in European politics. Hungary's scope of international maneuver has broadened, and various domestic and foreign political tasks have emerged in this area. In fact, the then-established secretariat played a preparatory role, although nobody could have suspected yet that elections would be called within less than a year and that the old regimes of this area would collapse. Some 11 people worked for this secretariat and, alongside it, a 60-member college operated on a voluntary basis, of which Jozsef Antall was also a member. I also became involved with this work as a secondary job. In the neighboring countries and throughout the world, this secretariat began to establish contact with—in the absence of organizations—various members of the intelligentsia who were engaged in politics and with organizations in Hungary. Using the experience of the secretariat, the government divided the tasks into two after the elections. Our situation was made easier by the fact that groups and parties representing political interests came into being in our neighboring countries, too. That is, the situation changed both in its essence and in its quality—there was a need for efficient and professionally-sound international diplomatic activity, an activity, that does not directly fit into the profile of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, but that supplements it. The ministry maintains links on an interstate level, rather than on the level of social and cultural organizations. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Was it easy to find partners on a level similar to yours?

[Entz] Yes, because other countries have started to deal with this issue on the level of state administration, although there are still differences between the efforts of the Hungarian government bodies and the concept of the majority of our neighboring countries. We start from the needs of the minorities in question and wish to build on their self-organization. On the other hand, some of our neighboring countries only pursue political window dressing. They treat the issue in such a way as to merely

fulfill certain European norms, but their relation to the minority organizations is full of conflicts.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] With which country did we create the best relationship?

[Entz] It depends upon from which aspects I consider the question. An official invitation is a complete acknowledgement of Hungarian efforts. I held talks on this basis in Serbia and Slovenia already, and I paid a semi-official visit to Croatia and Kiev. The federal deputy prime minister of the Czech and the Slovak Republic has also invited me, and I had a 10-day trip to Romania that was qualified as a private visit by the Romanian Foreign Ministry. In spite of that, I negotiated with top rank leaders, and I participated in a news conference that attracted rather great interest. I think this was important because I managed to expound the Hungarian political intentions in front of the Romanian general public. The maintenance of our relations with Romania is made harder by the fact that their political system is still unformed, and they have not clearly decided yet what direction they want to follow. Our only possibility is to offer a constructive partnership to them. Our strategy coincides with the main line of European development. Europe used to be an interplay of the conflicting interests of broken-up powers. Today, these conflicting interests are subordinated to the interests of an all-European great market. It is easy to promote our cause in those countries where this fact has been realized. Our agreement with the Ukraine reflects this. This has also been raised with the Slovenes and the Croatians, but we must take into consideration the way the situation in the SFRY is progressing. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What kind of relationship does your secretariat have with the opposition parties?

[Entz] We regularly exchange our information with the national minority experts of the Federation of Young Democrats. In my opinion, there is little difference between the national minority aspect of their foreign policy program and our government's political practice. This does not mean that we agree on all issues. We have made several attempts to establish contact with the Alliance of Free Democrats along these lines, but this has not taken place yet. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What is your most important task today?

[Entz] We are preparing for the Geneva conference under the instructions of the Paris summit. The delegation that I will lead will be made up by the Foreign Affairs Ministry and our secretariat. We would like to take the consensus of principles that we have achieved so far at the CSCE further on the road toward practical implementation. This could be done by setting up information centers, by convening regular meetings, and by the control of the practical implementation of the principles.

Ministry Issues Statement on Iliescu Remarks

LD1907210791 Budapest MTI in English 1938 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, July 19 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has requested MTI to publish the following communique:

Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, gave a statement on July 18, in which he dealt with Hungary's position regarding the Yugoslav crisis in a surprising form.

The Hungarian side is totally baffled by the remarks made by President Iliescu. These reflect that, according to Romania, even criticism addressed to a high-level leader of a sovereign state is a matter that can be coordinated within the framework of the customs generally accepted in international practice. Naturally, it is the sovereign right of the Romanian leaders to decide whether they wish to adhere to the international diplomatic protocol in their political statements. The Hungarian side wishes to make it known to Romania that is considers such statements completely alien to the European practice also with respect to form.

The Hungarian side firmly rejects the unfounded assertions made in the statement. Following the last session of leaders of the Warsaw treaty member states in Prague, the Hungarian Prime Minister, speaking to the leaders of the member states, set forth in detail the Hungarian position regarding the Yugoslav situation, thus the Romanian leaders also had an opportunity to be familiarized with it.

Thus we hold it necessary to specially reaffirm that Hungary's position regarding the Yugoslav crisis is fully in harmony with the position taken by the European communities, the CSCE documents, and the charter of the UN. The statements made by the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Hungary on June 27 and July 1 were also based on these principles.

The Hungarian side believes that the latest Romanian remarks do not promote the development of bilateral relations and good-neighbourly relations, which Hungary has been calling for for some time, without success. We would highly appreciate it were the Romanian side to set forth as soon as possible its position about our proposals, which the Hungarian prime minister's letter of May 10 contains, and which are still unanswered. In the current situation, when we have made new initiatives to promote relations, and when a certain improvement has been perceptible in the relationship between the two countries, the question justly arises: what are the genuine intentions of the Romanian side regarding our relations?

We are confident that the Romanian side will show due wisdom, and will find a way to correct its remarks. This would be welcomed by the Hungarian side.

Official on Treaty Negotiations With USSR

AU2007105391 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Jul 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jerzy Sulek, head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Europe Department, by Grzegorz Lubczyk; place and date not given: "Closer Rather Than Further"]

[Text] [Lubczyk] Last week, during V. Falin's visit to Poland, there were contradictory reports appearing on the state of our relations with the USSR. What is the state of relations really like?

[Sulek] Polish-Soviet relations have undoubtedly stagnated over the past few months. Recently, however, one could note—and this was on both sides—that efforts were finally being made to alter the situation and to improve mutual relations. A convergence of positions and agreement on points that were being disputed or over which there were differences, should shortly materialize as a result. For example, the question of setting a deadline for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland has entered the final stage of reaching a decision. In addition, we have noticed tangible progress in negotiations on a new "general" Polish-Soviet treaty.

[Lubczyk] The media has essentially concentrated on the withdrawal of Soviet forces, and has provided too little information on the bilateral treaty that you mentioned. The press reported the beginning of work on a treaty, but then there was silence.

[Sulek] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs began preparations on the conclusion of a new treaty with the USSR at the end of last year, but the negotiating process itself began relatively recently.

The Soviet side presented us with its draft at the end of March, and we presented a Polish draft at the beginning of May. Negotiations opened on 24 May, and the first stage involved talks between our experts from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the USSR Embassy in Warsaw. Initially, the Polish delegation was led by Deputy Director Kostrzewa-Zorbas, and then in the middle of June, Minister Skubiszewski entrusted me with the task. My partner was Ambassador Kashlev. On 5 July, we successfully concluded the talks and reached a point at which we could inform public opinion about the first results of our work. Naturally, we can only do so to the extent that is possible at the present time, because the negotiations are not over yet.

[Lubczyk] So, what is your assessment of the course and results of what were undoubtedly difficult negotiations?

[Sulek] You are right that the substance of the negotiations is extremely complex. After all, we are to create a treaty that is to provide a new political basis under international law for all aspects of future relations between Poland and its eastern neighbor. If one takes account of the "legacy" that we inherited from the recent past or the complex processes of change that are underway in both our countries and in Europe, the task is not an easy one.

In light of this situation, there was only one way out: arduous and stubborn negotiations. That is what we did. Over a period of six weeks, we held seven plenary sessions and several discussions in working parties. The result of our efforts is that we no longer have two separate draft treaties, but one draft Soviet-Polish treaty, which we have called "On good-neighborly and friendly relations." It contains points on which agreement has been reached—and that applies to the overwhelming majority of them—and several points about which there are still differences. Unfortunately, some of them are of key importance. Over the next few weeks, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will hold consultations on the draft treaty with all the departments concerned, and then negotiations between both will be held at the deputy minister of foreign affairs level.

[Lubczyk] There is no lack of reports, in the Western press as well, about the fact that the USSR wants us to include two special provisions in the future treaty. One of them would state that the we will not become members of alliances that are hostile toward the Soviet Union. The second is: Foreign forces will not use the military facilities that exist in Poland. Can you confirm that?

[Sulek] It is customary to observe discretion when holding negotiations. So please accept that I cannot give a straight answer to that question. However, I would say one thing: The Polish side is seeking treaty provisions that would strengthen Poland's security and would not curb its sovereignty.

We hope that in its practice toward Poland, the USSR, like the other CSCE states, will recognize the basic principle of the Paris Charter on a New Europe to which it is a signatory: "the freedom of states to determine their own security." We do not want to develop our security at the expense of the USSR, but we also expect the same of Moscow.

[Lubczyk] When can we expect the treaty to be signed?

[Sulek] The treaty will have to be negotiated in its entirety before it is signed. We have achieved a lot, but not everything. The first, essential stage of negotiations is behind us, and what lies ahead of us is the next stage, during which we will have to reach agreement on the most difficult issues, on the so-called security clause above all. If we reach agreement on that, then we can give a date for the signing of the treaty.

[Lubczyk] What, in your opinion, will the treaty change about Polish-Soviet relations?

[Sulek] A great deal. Above all, it will replace the old 1965 "Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance," which is still in force. It is completely inappropriate to the new reality, in both Poland and the

USSR. The future treaty will provide a political basis under international law for relations the between new, democratic Republic of Poland and its eastern neighbor.

Of course, the development of partner-like and equal relations along Poland's "eastern wall" is not just a question of one treaty. In the future, all kinds of other agreements will probably be concluded with the central authorities in Moscow or with the republics that will make up the Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics, as well as those republics that will become sovereign states on the other side of our eastern border.

The treaty on good-neighborly and friendly cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the USSR will also possess great significance within the whole group of international agreements that we have recently signed with countries such as France and Germany. It is to become an instrument for developing the security of a new Poland in a new Europe during a period of transition, at a time when CEMA and the Warsaw Pact no longer exist, there is to be no military alliance between the Republic of Poland and the Warsaw Pact, and a security system for all of Europe is yet to emerge.

[Lubczyk] Recently, public opinion has been expressing criticism, and so have some members of the Sejm, and has been asking questions such as: Do we have any kind of Eastern policy at all? At the same time, it is recognized that we are successfully pursuing new policies toward the West, the EEC, and Germany.

[Sulek] A sensible answer can only be in the affirmative. For two years now, we have generally been pursuing a new foreign policy, and, of course, toward the East as well. The new Poland has completely revised all the relations that the People's Republic of Poland used to maintain with the USSR—we have stripped them of ideology, cast off the status of a satellite, and introduced a two-tier approach—the new Poland has relations with Moscow and the republics and has raised many sensitive issues that were taboo for decades, such as Katyn and the issue of Poles living in the USSR. These are undoubtedly the plus points in our new Eastern policy. I have just mentioned those as an example, but there are many more.

At the same time, many other problems and challenges have arisen which our foreign service is yet to tackle—for example, the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland or the transit through Poland of forces stationed in Germany. The negotiations in this area have yet to end in success, but they have reached a point at which a final settlement is not far off. Then, an appraisal of all these aspects taken together will look quite different. Personally, I am convinced that next few weeks and months will see a fundamental resolution of the issues in relations with the Soviet Union.

Bielecki on Elections, Privatization, Regionalism

LD2007221791 Warsaw PAP in English 2037 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Poznan, July 20—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki said here on Saturday [20 July] he expected a group of thirty or forty persons from the Liberal-Democratic Congress to be in a future Parliament.

At a meeting with representatives of enterprises and activists of the union of residents of the Wielkopolska region, the prime minister, who is also chairman of the Political Council of the Liberal-Democratic Congress, said regionalism was a process of the quiet and grass-roots implementation of initiatives, decentralization but also strong and efficient central power.

During his visit to the Zielona Gora furniture factory Saturday, the prime minister assured that widespread privatization of 400 enterprises was not an empty electoral promise given to society by the government, because the effects of privatisation could be seen not earlier than June 1993.

The premier also told provincial governors and representatives of self-governments of the five western (Szczecin, Gorzow Wielkopolski, Zielona Gora, Jelenia Gora and the Legnica) provinces about a German concept of the development of the Odra zone.

The concept was presented by Minister-President of the Brandenburg Government Manfred Stolpe who visited Poland recently.

The prime minister said that the German proposal was a fairly well thought formula of cooperation. He said its general assumptions are in keeping with the Polish foreign policy and the spirit of the Polish-German treaty.

The prime minister and provincial governors debated on how they could best respond to proposals by the Brandenburg minister-president. The provincial governors also presented their hitherto attainments in border cooperation.

Labor Minister Interviewed on Social Policy

AU2007131791 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Jul 91

[Interview with Michal Boni, minister of labor and social welfare, by Aleksandra Fandrejewska, place and date not given: "If The State Gives, We Shall Take"]

[Excerpts] [Fandrejewska] Do you think the minimum salary is enough to survive on?

[Boni] That depends on what you mean by "survive." The lowest salary should be enough to last one person for one month. That is what we reckoned, and that resulted in a minimum salary of 632,000 zlotys [Z], though that excludes certain components. I think the minimum salary to get through the month is Z700,000.

[Fandrejewska] How many Poles draw social security benefits?

[Boni] Between 150,000 and 200,000 draw temporary and permanent benefits. Some 1,100,000 receive unemployment benefits. About 1 million people will draw housing benefits until the end of the year.

[Fandrejewska] And how many Poles earn less than Z700,000 per month?

[Boni] Some 200,000 to 250,000 receive a minimum wage. But what are their actual earnings? No one knows. I do not want to generalize, but this is a controversial matter. The Main Statistical Office is unable to work out what the real incomes of Poles are. The information we release does not provide the true level of incomes. For example, I may draw unemployment benefits, but still carry out repair jobs and earn Z20 million in the course of three months, which I will not admit to. Officially, I have not earned these Z20 million.

[Fandrejewska] When will we abolish these anomalies?

[Boni] That is very difficult. Reliable information depends on an efficient taxation system, and on an honest filling out of tax returns. [passage omitted]

[Fandrejewska] How long do you think the economic reform process will last?

[Boni] From 10 to 15 years. That is when today's adolescents will run the country. For those of us who do not think so far ahead, it is important to know when there will be clearer signs of improvement. Also, we must feel that the road we are following actually leads somewhere. Today's sacrifices and difficulties should bring results in about two years time, and create opportunities. This year is the most difficult one.

[Fandrejewska] You are a minister responsible for "negotiations." During these negotiations, do the trade unions not try to set the government and society against each other?

[Boni] It varies. Usually, constructive arguments are presented and an effort is made to find a solution. The Poles still have the old mentality whereby the government is an adversary because it is in power. This government's program causes political and ideological emotion. It is possible that some of the unions take advantage of negotiations in order to boost their own image of being "anti" everything. Many of our proposals have been rejected. There is too much banner waving, too many slogans. No one is prepared to reach a compromise for the sake of the future. Everyone insists on being right. We live in a kind of abstract theatrical scenario where the government must be destroyed and threatened with one strike after another. Yet people are tired. They want concrete solutions.

We could adopt the following slogan: "The government must find employment for all college graduates." But it does not have to do so because there is a job market. The June rise in unemployment is absurd; entire classes of school leavers and college graduates signed the unemployment register. No one bothered to look for work because the state was willing to give. If the state gives, we shall take, they said. But at the same time they say that the state gives nothing because it has already taken everything.

[Fandrejewska] Will social policy form part of election programs?

[Boni] I think everyone will say with good intentions how things should be, but I fear everyone will become obsessed with politics and ideology instead. During a campaign no one is responsible for his slogans.

[Fandrejewska] And what would be your social program as a Sejm candidate?

[Boni] It would be a realistic one. I would speak of the need for social dialogue. I would promise nothing I could not keep. I would point to the differences between social groups and indicate the need to tidy up social policy. To be honest, I would say what I am saying now. I might be even more critical than I am now as far as an assessment of economic matters is concerned.

Sejm Concerned Over Situation in Radio, TV

LD1907185891 Warsaw PAP in English 1611 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 19—The Sejm (lower house) debating here on Friday [19 July] passed a resolution in which the chamber expressed its deep concern over the present situation within the Polish radio and television, especially over its information policy weakening the credibility of public mass media.

The chamber urged the government to conduct an evaluation of work of the management of the Committee for Radio and Television and to present its findings to the Sejm.

Senate Urges Verification of Candidates

LD1907204191 Warsaw PAP in English 1739 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Senate, July 19 [dateline as received]—The Senate here on Friday [19 July] passed a resolution calling for the verification of persons running in parliamentary elections planned for October 27. In the resolution, the Senate called on the government to make sure whether the candidates' names were not on the list of employees or collaborators of the former security service, or of military special services.

Solidarity Groups Plan Election Strategy

LD2007021191 Warsaw PAP in English 2306 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 19—Representatives of the pro-Solidarity political forces debated here Friday night on how to form a programmatic coalition of the forces originating from Solidarity.

The meeting was organized on the initiative of the chairman of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club Mieczyslaw Gil and its participants included: Maciej Jankowski (the Solidarity Mazowsze region), Gabriel Janowski (the Solidarity of Private Farmers), Jaroslaw Kaczynski (chairman of the Centre Alliance), Zdzislaw Najder (chairman of the National Citizen's Committee), Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski and chairman of the Solidarity of the Polish Peasant Party Jozef Slisz.

Representatives of the Party of Christian Democrats and the Liberal Democratic Congress also took part in the meeting.

The participants in the meeting said they were united by the concern for Poland's full independence and sovereignty and particularly for overcoming recession. They were united by what was always a programme and system of values of the broadly conceived Solidarity movement.

The meeting ended in a decision to continue contacts of that kind to establish the principles of electoral agreement of the forces originating directly from the Solidarity movement. The goal was to form a coalition, also for the period after parliamentary elections, taking into account different political views and society's economic interests.

Center Alliance on 'Shameful' Political Struggle

LD1907212191 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, June 19—The Centre Alliance (PC) firmly protested here on Friday [19 July] against "inadmissible and shameful methods of political struggle applied ever more intensively in recent period by left-wing groupings."

In a statement released for the press the PC leadership claims that in their campaign against the Centre Alliance activists and journalists linked with the Democratic Union (UD) and the Solidarity of Labour resort to lies and insults designed to sow hatred and reminiscent of the worst patterns of negative propaganda.

"This campaign of hatred poisons the atmosphere of public life, creates deep divisions and hampers development of democracy," PC Main Board charged.

Democratic Union Replies

LD2107202491 Warsaw PAP in English 1821 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 21—In response to the Centre Alliance's (PC) tough-worded statement of July 19 protesting against "inadmissable and shameful methods of political struggle," the Democratic Union said sarcastically that it was glad to see its repeated appeals for a proper form of political discussions draw a reaction from the PC.

A statement issued by the Democratic Union's press bureau Sunday [21 July] said the union itself had been the target of fierce propaganda attacks by the PC. "We hope that (the PC appeal for business-like discussions) will find a reflection in the (PC's) propaganda practice," the Democratic Union said.

Christian Groups Unite in Electoral Campaign

LD2107194291 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Excerpt] The Christian Civic Movement will go to the elections together with the Christian National Union [ZCHN], the Federation of Kresy Organizations, and the Union of the Catholic Laity. That was the decision made by participants of today's conference of the Christian Civic Movement.

They issued an appeal to the Catholic community to organize itself into electoral teams within the framework of parishes. The possibility of expanding the coalition is not ruled out. The ideal would be to unite all Solidarity, Christian, and independence forces, it was stressed during the discussion. We are not an extreme force, said ZCHN Deputy Chairman Antoni Macierewicz. We desire a state in which strong presidential authority will cooperate with a really representative Parliament, he added. During the discussion, fears were expressed of the coalition being dominated by ZCHN activists. [passage omitted]

Roman Meets Mitterrand, Cresson in Paris

AU1907191991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1638 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/7/1991—Friday [19 July] morning, at Elysee Palace, France's President Francois Mitterrand talked for about an hour with Prime Minister Petre Roman.

According to French and Romanian sources approach was made of elements of the political collaboration between the two countries which should give an impetus to the cooperation in various fields.

Premier Roman informed about the developments in Romania especially after Francois Mitterrand's visit to Bucharest.

The president of the French Republic expressed his support for the real democratization process in Romania, for the correct functioning of the institutions characteristic for a state of law.

During the talk reference was made to aspects of European construction, to the recent London meeting of the Group of Seven, to questions connected with Romania's rapprochement to the Group of Twelve, to the difficult relaunching of the Eastern European states.

Opinions were also exchanged in connection with the situation in the Balkans, emphasis being placed on the pressing events in Yugoslavia.

At the end of the meeting Premier Petre Roman stated that reference was also made to questions concerning the finalization of important projects with French companies, previously analyzed with the heads of those companies, with the ministers of the economy and the foreign ministers.

"I think it is very important that great steps have been made to this end, what is relevant for the evolution of bilateral ties and—of course—for Romania," the prime minister said specifying that the future French-Romanian treaty of friendship and cooperation was discussed during the talks and everything was quite clear.

Friday afternoon Romanian Premier Petre Roman met with the head of the French Government, Mme. Edith Cresson.

The dialogue approached practical ways of improving intergovernmental collaboration, French-Romanian contacts in general. A survey was made of bilateral economic activities at a state or private level, the sides declaring for their development.

Diplomatic sources informed that, in connection with the most favorable areas of French cooperation and assistance at the moment, the collocutors referred especially to the power field, agriculture, telecommunications, administration and management techniques.

Also on Friday Mr. Petre Roman had an interview at Palais Royal with Robert Badinter, president of Constitutional Council.

Both the Constitutional Council and its president himself were consulted in the elaboration of Romania's draft constitution.

Visit 'Very Positive'

AU2007135391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0748 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/7/1991—"The 48-hour visit I paid to France had been necessary mostly for concretely shaping a number of grand-scale projects which important companies intend to undertake in Romania, projects directly referring to making important enterprises work, and to help sectors facing temporary difficulties," Prime Minister Petre Roman said, Friday, 19 June, at night, on his return from Paris. He mentioned "projects in telecommunications, power, sugar production, petroleum, liquid gas bottling, with immediate effects for the population, starting this winter, to the renovation of Bucharest electric lines. They are grand-scale projects needing important financing. Clarifications were necessary of the possibilities we the Romanian Government, offer, within the legal framework, of the taxes of Romanian enterprises involved in these projects, and of the support of the French Government."

The Romanian premier said that "all the interviews, and there were many indeed, have made up a very positive picture. That is in a short time, a couple of weeks, a couple of months at the most, the projects will start. I am sure the visit has brought what we have intended to.

Speaking about his interviews with the French President, Francois Mitterrand and the French premier, Edith Cresson, Prime Minister Petre Roman said: "These political meetings were occasioned by our intention to clarify and back all these economic cooperations. They had, no doubt, a political character, as well. The political relations between France and Romania have been very good, and I can certify it now. All political commitments France has had as regards our country have been given concrete shape, and they are still valid. The complete picture of the interviews held is very good, as regards the relations between France and Romania."

As for France having supported once again Romania within the "Group of Seven," the Romanian premier confirmed it and added: "France is not the only one who helps us. We can say all the European members of the "Group of Seven" back Romania, favour its not being differentiated, in any way, from the other Central and East European countries, and that is good news for us."

Iliescu on Results of Foreign Visits

AU2007171791 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 16 Jul 91 pp 1, 8

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Dumitru Tinu on 14 June on his way home from visit to Latin America: "Thinking of Consensus, for the Country's Major Interests"—first graf is ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] The talk with Mr. Ion Iliescu started after takeoff from Maracaibo airport, Venezuela, on his way home from visits paid to countries on three continents—Europe, Asia, and Latin America. After a short stopover for technical reasons in Las Palmas in the Canary Archipelago, we resumed our discussion with the feeling of having just come out of a world that seemed unreal, due to its exotic nature and its so different concerns and daily habits. The first temptation was to begin the conversation by asking Romania's president if this trip could be interpreted as an escape from Europe.

[Tinu] Do you accept such an interpretation, Mr. President?

[Iliescu] Yes, with one specification, namely, that before the "escape," we stopped over at the continent's western end, in Lisbon, in view of the fact that Portugal is a European gate toward Africa and Latin America.

[Tinu] Should one infer that, given the existence of a certain blockage in Europe, you are trying to achieve an opening toward other parts of the world?

[Iliescu] Europe remains the priority. However, we are equally interested in an opening toward regions that have large natural resources. Latin America is such an area, and draws great attention from all states.

As far as we are concerned, I repeat that we are primarily interested in developing relations with neighboring countries, with all European countries, and with the United States. At the same time, we also plan to expand our ties with other parts of the world, as well. As a matter of fact, we are witnessing a general phenomenon of worldwide intertwining of interstate relations.

[Tinu] Are you satisfied with the results of this trip? Did you hope for more or have these results exceeded your expectations?

[Iliescu] I think the balance sheet is positive and we can declare ourselves satisfied. We achieved our targets in each one of the four countries we visited. We made a short stopover in Portugal, with a clearly defined goal. We had previously met with President Mario Soares in Tokyo, where we agreed to continue our dialogue, in view of the fact that the economic relations between Romania and Portugal are at a rather low level. We achieved concrete results in all of the countries we visited, particularly in the sphere of economic relations. Therefore, it has not been a trip of protocol niceties; in all dealings, our talks concluded with concrete results. As you know, we signed important documents that lay the foundation of future cooperation.

[Tinu] This may be true, but it is also true that all sorts of accords have been signed in the past, too. We did not lack for documents in the past, either. Still, has anything changed or is it going to change in this respect?

[Iliescu] First of all, something is changing in our country—both the political and the socioeconomic climate. The levers and mechanisms of the national economy have changed. Let us not forget that our opening toward countries with a market economy and experience in this respect takes place at a time when we ourselves are proceeding toward such an economy. This is a new, favorable climate. We must take faster, prompter, and more efficient steps along these lines, proceeding from the new economic structures in our country. I will discuss with the government ways and means to capitalize on the results of these visits. The ministries should stimulate the economic factors, which now, in the new conditions, will be able to become directly involved in implementing the agreements that were signed.

Unlike in the past, when there was a single supracentralized body that coordinated the entire foreign trade, the economic factors themselves can show initiative now. This, however, should not mean their dispersion. We are talking about a coordinated action around a pilot project for an ensuing program.

[Tinu] As is the case, for instance, with Morocco?

[Iliescu] Yes, we have such an example in Morocco. For more than 20 years, a large enterprise such as "Contransimex" has gained a reputation as a serious partner in the construction of harbors; we have already established the necessary framework for a broader cooperation on the Moroccan market.

One could initiate a similar program in Venezuela on the Orinoco River, where there are great reserves of iron ore and bauxite. We are thinking in terms of a Romanian-Venezuelan project involving the iron and steel combine of Galati, around which a whole network of enterprises could participate in various projects with machines, equipment, and various other products of Romanian industry.

[Tinu] You have recently had a number of meetings with the representatives of the opposition parties in Bucharest. Did you, on your current visits, feel that your actions enjoyed the consensus of all political forces in the country?

[Iliescu] Yes, this sentiment was enhanced by the knowledge that everything I did was to promote our national interests. I believe that all of us should make joint efforts when the country's great interests are at stake.

[Tinu] During this visit, you reiterated that you always bear in mind all Romanians, regardless of whether they are living in the country or abroad. I noticed that you had a very emotional meeting in Caracas with Romanians who had settled there at a difficult time in our history. Mr. President, do you believe that the government and the country in general are paying enough attention to the Romanians living abroad?

[Iliescu] I believe we are not doing enough for the Romanians abroad, something that has consequences on many planes. This issue was also raised by the Romanians settled in Venezuela, who, as you could see, are very attached to their native country, regardless of their concepts.

[Tinu] The society they set up also has a very suggestive name—Casa Rumana [Romania House]...

[Iliescu] Yes, it was a very touching meeting. It is a pity that the political confrontations in the country also have a negative impact among the Romanians living abroad. As I have said in the past, there is no country without confrontations and domestic political struggles. However, I believe that these confrontations should not affect our national interests. At various historical points, many of our fellow citizens have scattered throughout the world, but they remained Romanians at heart and preserved a strong affection for their native country. It is our duty to draw them closer to us, so as to jointly work for promoting the country's great interests. As a matter of fact, we plan to organize a big congress of representatives of the Romanian diaspora in 1992, to be preceded by a preparatory meeting in Sinaia next fall. We hope that this will mark a good start.

[Tinu] I know that you were always in contact with Bucharest throughout the visit. How do our problems at home look to you from this far away? How do you perceive them?

[Iliescu] Maybe more calmly. This has also been a somewhat calmer period, too. However, the distance makes you see things more clearly; it also makes you more optimistic. It is true that we have difficult problems to solve; but then, everybody has problems—there are confrontations and convulsions everywhere. I became convinced of that truth even before this visit, namely during the Prague summit. Our neighbors are also faced with similar problems and are going through the same processes. It is good to maintain our optimism and trust. I am convinced that we will find the necessary strength and moral reserves to overcome the current difficulties.

[Tinu] From the talks you held with political figures in the four countries you visited, did you note any evolution in the way Romania's image is perceived?

[Iliescu] Yes, at the same time I came to realize the importance of personal relationships. You could see for yourself how the climate of the meetings kept improving during the visits from one moment to another. Indeed, in these days of great dynamism in international life, human contacts between political leaders are very important. Many a problem can thus find its answer, clarification, and solution.

[Tinu] A last question, Mr. President: What do you feel when you hear our national anthem thousands of kilometers away from home?

[Iliescu] This anthem, which was spontaneously adopted by our revolution, has always produced a special emotion in me. Now, when it has become the country's symbol, it adds an additional note of sensitiveness and emotion, particularly when you listen to it so far away from the country.

[Tinu] Thank you, Mr. President, for your answers and confidences.

Communique Explains Iliescu Criticism of Hungary

AU2107152591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1418 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/7/1991—Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent the following communique to the ROMPRES news agency:

On July 19, 1991 the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs released a communique containing considerations in connection with the statement Romania's President Ion Iliescu had made during his press conference at the Cotroceni Palace on Thursday, July 18.

The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses its satisfaction over the fact that the Hungarian side reasserted—through the aforementioned communique—the stand having been already presented on June 27 and July 1, 1991 which it considers as a confirmation of the principle of territorial integrity and of non-arguing about the present borders in Europe.

Taking into consideration Romania's special concern for stability in Europe and notifying the considerations of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the development of bilateral relations and good neighbourhood between Romania and Hungary, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reasserts its wish to expand these ties, a wish also demonstrated by the numerous proposals the Romanian side had made concerning actions and contacts, at summit level included.

As far as Romanian President Ion Iliescu's statement is concerned, he referred exclusively to the fact that Mr. Joszef Antall, Hungary's prime minister, in his stand taken on July 9, 1991, threw doubt upon the legality of the Trianon Treaty and of the Paris Treaty of Peace, using the phrase "so-called treaties." The necessity of reacting to Hungarian Prime Minister Joszef Antall's statement was determined by the fact that the respective text could have been interpreted as an alienation from the previously adopted stands. But, as the two treaties put into discussion by the Hungarian prime minister are legal documents which also establish Romania's state borders, the Romanian head of state signalled in his statement the danger of such approaches.

Further on Iliescu 18 Jul News Conference

AU1907194391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1755 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/7/1991—Answering a question on the Romanian-Hungarian relations, President Iliescu opined that "a major issue today, especially after our talks in Prague, may be to approach the text of a bilateral treaty."

Speaking during his Thursday's [18 July] press conference, he reminded that several months ago Romania had forwarded a project to this end but it had not received yet the Hungarian side's observations. "First and foremost we have waited for a discussion on the fundamental questions in the

elaboration of this treaty which should set the framework for the approach of all details," he concluded.

"I do not think anti-Semitism is characteristic of the Romanian society," President Ion Iliescu said during his Thursday news conference. "I think it is a peripheral phenomenon and that too much importance was given to a number of articles in the press," he added.

"I cannot ignore the publication of such materials and I can but disapprove of and blame them. And I cannot help noticing what they caused, with or without intention. They offered the opportunity for them to be used as provocative materials against the Romanians," President Iliescu also said.

"I think it will be ratified by parliament," President Ion Iliescu opined speaking about the treaty signed with the Soviet Union.

Speaking during his Thursday press conference he said that "we did not consider it necessary to step up its ratification—as it was followed by the meeting on the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty—and we wanted to make progress in our activity to sign treaties between this country and others. However, I think the necessary framework will be created for ratification despite the remarks made vis-a-vis the treaty, which I consider as groundless."

Referring to his visit to Israel due to take place in September, President Iliescu showed during his Thursday's press conference that it "would also have political goals, in the idea to consolidate the relations between the two states, the economic ones included."

"There is a major mutual interest for it," Mr. Iliescu showed, "and we shall try to find concrete ways for the development of bilateral relations."

"This is also a good opportunity to have contacts with the large community of Romania-born Israeli citizens who have warm feelings for their second homeland," Romania's president added. "We shall have meetings with the community of Israeli Romanians or Romanian Israelis, I don't know how to call them. I think this meeting will be a favorable factor for new contacts between our states."

"The equipment in the Romanian television is poor and we are therefore willing to receive assistance and resume cooperation with prestigious companies," Romania's president said during his Thursday press conference.

As for an independent television, the president opined the notion was relative, wondering whether a private television was more independent than a public one. "Switzerland," he said, "has one television channel and no one thinks it undemocratic," he said.

The president said the accusation that the Romanian television was pro-governmental was debatable as long as the executive itself was discontented with the way in which it reflects it activities.

"As far as these matters are concerned, we are willing to play with our cards on the table," the president also said. "A law of the audiovisual is being worked out and the Parliament acts as a control factor over this institution."

Iliescu Urges Parties To 'Cooperate'

AU2007135091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0821 GMT 20 Jul 91

["Presidential Diary: Communique"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/7/1991—Friday, 19 July, President Ion Iliescu had consultations with representatives of the bureaus of the two chambers of the Parliament, the government, the ruling party and the two groups of the parliamentary majority, as regards the situation created by the withdrawal of a number of political parties from debates on the privatisation bill.

The wish of all participants was expressed that the privatisation law be the result of debates held with the participation of all parties in the Parliament, as it is going to be a law of the nation and not a law of a political party or group of parties.

The conclusion was drawn that the privatisation law not only is extremely important for the fulfilment of the program of reforms and transition to the market economy, but its adoption is extremely urgent considering the necessity of observing the political schedule established for this year, including the passing of the laws on local elections and the optimum sequence of measures for reaching economic stability.

Expressing their willingness to cooperate with the opposition parties, the ruling party and the government favoured the idea that further possible amendments of various parties should be analysed by the specialty commissions, at the same time with debates held in plenum. Other experts can also be invited to the commissions' works.

Romania's president launches an appeal to all political parties to cooperate in debating jointly the important privatisation bill, so that the law be adopted before the end of the current parliamentary session, considering that it is in Parliament and not out of it that bills necessary to the country can be improved by all who sincerely wish to.

Roman TV Statement on Privatization Bill

AU2207102691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0828 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/7/1991—"The National Salvation Front and its government took the responsibility of the economic reform so that Romania could become one of the modern countries and it continues this mission under the sign of democracy," Prime Minister Petre Roman stated at the Romanian television on Sunday evening.

Federal

Radio Comments on Serbia, Army Options

AU2107171091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Dragan Stavljanin commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Clemenceau's statement that war is too serious a thing to be decided on by generals has recently been mentioned quite frequently. However, in our case, war is even a more serious thing to be left exclusively in the sphere of competence of the current Yugoslav politicians whose arrogance and dilettantism have destroyed the country.

A wise policy does not only imply correct assessments and actions, but also timely moves. Withdrawing the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia is a realistic move from the point of view of politics. However, one can already say that this is to some extent a belated move. One could of course speculate and ask the question of what would have happened if this had been done on 26 June. Many people are now qualifying this decision by the SFRY Presidency and the Staff of the Supreme Command both as an unconstitutional act and a betrayal of the country.

However, the SFRY Constitution has been violated so many times that those who observe it are doing so to their own detriment. One could certainly ask how such a decision could be made by the SFRY Presidency, which, because of its paralysis, increasingly resembles an unconstitutional institution. However, this body should no longer be treated as the highest authority of the country. Its members should be seen as representatives of the republics that are dominant in deciding on the future of the country.

By the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia, this republic, according to many assessments, has in many ways come closer to full independence. However, if it becomes greedy and continues to treat the Army as the occupying army, and since last Thursday as an army that has been defeated and is therefore pulling out, this could act as a boomerang. For instance, if Slovenia insists on war reparations through confiscation of military equipment, the Yugoslav People's Army would have considerably greater political maneuvering room to intervene. In any case, pulling the Yugoslav People's Army out of Slovenia will not produce the desired effects unless this move is accompanied by appropriate political and legal measures. In brief, Yugoslavia should not be a maintenance service that looks after this republic in the transitional period, until it is internationally recognized, introduces its own currency, and establishes new markets.

The withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia currently leaves Croatia in the most complicated situation. Croatia is in a way losing an ally. Moreover, the explosive interethnic situation forces the Yugoslav People's Army to remain outside its barracks in this republic. All this renders Croatia's position uncertain. Therefore, one way for Croatia to somehow receive international recognition in linkage with Slovenia is to cause a general war with the Army directly by attacking Army formations and indirectly by massacring Serbs.

In this radical variation, it could count on a complete internationalization of its problem. However, this would be a move containing excessive risk, because the Army, profiting from the experience in Slovenia, would react much more efficiently.

Serbia has gained a political respite for the moment, above all in the international field. However, there is no time to be lulled. With the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia, Serbia has partially closed down one front. However, several dilemmas have thus been intensified. Before some other republics ask for the Army to withdraw from their territories, or rather for recruits from these territories to withdraw from the Yugoslav People's Army, it would be very important for Serbia that the possible rump of Yugoslavia be defined in constitutional terms as soon as possible, for this rump would also decide on the employment of the Yugoslav People's Army, or, as a second possibility, that the transition to an independent state be made as painless as possible.

Otherwise, in this vacuum, in an anarchic situation, the Yugoslav People's Army could be reduced to Serbian-Montenegrin personnel, but one would not know who makes decisions on its activities. Something similar applies to other fields, too.

Secondly, the Army falling apart on a national basis before a political and state accord on Yugoslavia is reached would mean a general war. If Croatia continues to provoke the Yugoslav People's Army to action through violence against the Serbs before such an accord is reached, Serbia should ask for the withdrawal of Army units to the border of the regions where the Serbian people are in a majority.

Of course, a condition for such a move is to give certain guarantees to Muslims and the Macedonians.

Bearing all this in mind, there is no purpose in insisting that first the illegal formations be disarmed and the Yugoslav People's Army return to the barracks, and that political negotiations start afterwards. It is precisely the arming of paramilitary formations that serves to strengthen the negotiating positions. Therefore arms will be buried only after they have been used or certain political and state goals have been achieved.

Because of everything that is happening in the country, the only possible and apparently sensible thing is talks on splitting accounts with Slovenia, on territorial delimitation with Croatia, and on the definition of a possible rump of Yugoslavia or independent states in this area. The sooner this is done, the greater are the chances that

talks on a new Yugoslavia will be held in the future. This means: Down with Yugoslavia, long live Yugoslavia.

In this sense, the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia is the first radical step in resolving the Yugoslav crisis. Whether this, at first sight defensive, step is merely an acknowledgement of reality or whether it will in fact mean that the room for maneuvering for fresh offensive political steps is expanded, does not depend much on the other side, but chiefly on ourselves.

Mesic, Serbia's Draskovic Hold Talks

LD1907191391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic today received Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SRM] in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade. In their one-hour talks, Mesic and Draskovic agreed that nothing can be resolved by war in Yugoslavia and Mesic accepted Draskovic's proposal that they should appear in a "TV duel", probably next Sunday [28 July].

"The conversation began with Draskovic's words that he cannot talk to Mesic now "about what he would have liked to a month ago": the regionalization and cantonization of Yugoslavia, which is, as he said, one of the SRM's program aims which does not touch internal borders, but also does not give them the "character of the Great Wall of China or of state boundaries".

Unfortunately, Draskovic added, after the unilateral decision on dissociation, which is undoubtedly the right of the Croatian nation, although it should have been carried out differently and after the outbreak of war, "now the most pressing issue is to draw the borders between Serbs and Croats."

There is no longer any choice, however, Draskovic thinks, and the borders should be drawn according to the principle "that the Serbs and the Croats should be satisfied, and a compromise found for Bosnia." We cannot divide and do away with Bosnia, he said. "We can probably carry out a certain adjustment of the internal borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but in such a way that it does not gain or lose in territory, at least not significantly."

Draskovic believes that this should be carried out as closely as possible to the present-day ethnic map, and he handed Mesic a map of a possible territorial division of Yugoslavia which he referred to as a proposal for consideration.

We must start our talks, Draskovic resumed, with the idea of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia constituting a federation while the Croats and Slovenes can, if they want to, assume a confederal status in relation to it. Sorting out our borders is the only way for us to stop the war.

If people, both on the Serbian and Croatian side, think that "bloodshed will boost their negotiating positions, they must be insane." It seems to be, Draskovic said, that, luckily enough, both the Serbs and the Croats are getting less keen on "fighting each other in spite of Jasenovac [the largest concentration camp of the Ustasha Nazi state in World War II], the genocide, and the many nasty things we have had over the past 70 years." There has also been a great deal of "niceness and goodness, something that both nations should retain in their memory. If nothing else counts, we have lived under the same roof."

My mandate does not entitle me to speak about the borders, Stipe Mesic stressed, but war cannot solve anything. All that has happened so far is still next to nothing compared with the catastrophe which might ensue if the borders were to be drawn by war.

Croatia's dissociation does not mean an end to our search for a new model which could accommodate us, Mesic said. Europe is embarking on regional development and opening up all its borders. It would be absurd if we were to close ours. The creation of sovereign states, within a shared model, would not impede regional development, Mesic said. Draskovic replied: "Nor would it impede cantonization." "It would probably not impede this either," Mesic replied.

In all our talks we ought to proceed from the fact that Serbia and Croatia, as states, have never been at war in their history. After the two collocutors exchanged views on the creation of Yugoslavia in 1918, Mesic reflected on wartime and postwar events and eventually also on the last session of the SFRY Presidency.

I opposed the decision to withdraw the Army from Slovenia because my assumption is that we must create a model acceptable to all and only then can we "solve the interior of this model," Mesic stressed. "They are trying to convince me that the Army's withdrawal from Slovenia will ease the situation. I am not sure about that, but if developments prove me wrong I will be only delighted to see a better situation."

Talks on the future model and on coexistence, in Mesic's words, should not only be attended by the republican leaderships, but also by representatives of legislatures, parties, and various associations so that contacts between the people, now interrupted, are established again.

It is certainly difficult to have a sensible dialogue in Croatia if Serbia keeps passing decisions on "incursion on the monetary system, the suspension of economic developments, and the introduction of customs barriers and if the property of Croatian firms is nationalized." On the other hand, noted Mesic, people immediately say: "We must do something too. Let's nationalize weekend houses." Or else, Draskovic added, "let's mine Serbian houses."

For Mesic it would be a good idea if fighting stopped on both sides, Serbian and Croatian, immediately and if people returned to their regular jobs.

"If we were to gain entrance to Europe as an alliance of sovereign states this would also include the entire Serbian corps."

"The Macedonian problem would also be solved according to this principle, judged Mesic, and recalled that in Yugoslavia there is the same percentage of Croats living outside Croatia as there is of Serbs living outside Serbia—24 percent—but there is a greater number of Serbs because the Serbian nation is larger."

No single decision can solve anything, said Mesic. The only solution lies in talking. There are no just borders anywhere in the world. Borders will not be very significant, however, "once we are in the European home".

"We should develop a feeling of mutual trust and not start by thinking who is going to deceive whom. If one side is thinking that it has deceived the other one, this cannot have a lasting effect and there can be no benefit out of it," said Mesic.

I am glad that we have met, Mesic told Draskovic, and I would like to talk again and for us, as far as possible, as politicians, to influence our fellow countrymen. The Army should go to its barracks and talks must begin. "We have lived for a long time together. There has been a great deal of good and bad. For what lies ahead of us, however, only we can be to blame if we do a bad job, and we cannot blame others," said Mesic.

Draskovic said that he essentially agrees with Mesic. He said that something has to be done quickly and that the people are impatient with the leadership. Serbian-Croatian talks should begin at once.

If we are not capable of reaching agreement, Draskovic stressed, "then we should all be disposed of, and Serbian and Croatian mothers whose sons are in the Army should be called on to negotiate, and we should commit ourselves to accepting the agreement they reach." The hawks should have their wings clipped, he added, but this will only happen when both nations see that the right people are talking about the painful topics for Yugoslavia in the right way.

"After that Mr. Djodan will not stand a chance. With his behavior he has mobilized a large portion of pacifist Serbia, because no normal mind can swallow that, nor can a normal person tolerate it," Draskovic assessed and noted that statements such as Djodan's do not serve peace, but rather represent a call to war."

Mesic and Draskovic agreed that hawks such as Vojislav Seselj should not be taken seriously.

The Croatian side, according to Draskovic, "with the manufacture of Chetniks who do not exist, has spread and inflated the sail of war." Who are these Chetniks that your propaganda is hounding all over Croatia, Draskovic asked. You have been living with these people, he said, for 50 years.

Mesic recalled the burning of the Croatian village of Celije, and then repeated the well-known chronology of events surrounding the unheld meeting of the SFRY Presidency on Brioni. Of the coming session scheduled for Croatia, he assessed that it would finally produce discussion on a way out of the crisis.

Draskovic retorted that "these three months are slipping by and you have not begun anything."

Mesic replied that "we can no longer deceive the world, even if we are deceiving ourselves." Europe is interested in its own account, and I have nothing against that. Perhaps their sense will help us to find a way out of the crisis, said Mesic.

The talks ended with an invitation from Mesic to Draskovic to have talks with the Croatian opposition and with the joint appeal for war to be avoided.

Press Reacts to Army's Withdrawal From Slovenia

LD2007140391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 20 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA today assesses the decision of the Yugoslav Presidency on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) from Slovenia as a 'smart move, which cut short the possibility that Slovenia's bloody secessionist policy ... Provoke an escalation (of clashes) which would be difficult ... To limit (to one area).'

Borba writes that the presidency's decision 'refuted the arguments of those who believed in the Slovenian propaganda that the Yugoslav Army is repressive, unitarian, evil', and that Slovenes would 'lose an innocent sparring-partner whom they used to show to the world all the horrors of their alleged suffering in Yugoslavia'.

'Further insistence on the army's presence in Slovenia would only increase Slovenian provocations and result in that the army would act in self-defence', Borba writes.

This would 'increase the risk of interference of foreign factors, which would in turn, as it was gravely assessed in Moscow, result in world war three', BORBA says.

The daily VJESNIK believes quite the opposite. This daily is published in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia which, like Slovenia, adopted a decision on independence on June 25.

According to VJESNIK, the key question is whether the army's withdrawal fron slovenia is 'the first step to republicanizing the former Yugoslav Army' or a 'war trap'.

VJESNIK fears that the withdrawal could be a step towards the 'achievement of the greater Serbian strategy

to exchange Croatia's s state independence for parts of territories of the Croatian state' which are predominantly inhabited by Serbs.

VJESNIK does not see the fact that troops from Slovenia are not being transferred to Croatia, but Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina as 'reducing these suspicions'.

According to the daily, 'the massing of troops along two of Croatia's borders, together with the forces inside the republic, can hardly be seen as a factor of stability'.

The commentator of the Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes that the Yugoslav State Presidency did not have much choice.

Recalling that the Presidency's decisions have not been respected for a long time, the belgrade daily writes that 'there were only two solutions'.

Either force would be used to implement the Presidency's decisions that the situation along the state border return to that prior to June 25, that all units and army facilities be unblocked and that the confiscated goods be returned, or to 'decide on the withdrawal'.

POLITIKA says that the fact that the Presidency opted for the latter proves that 'the Presidency did not want to use force'.

'One thing will be written in the history of Yugoslavia, Slovenia and the army: The army did not do anything against the Slovenian people and is leaving with a clear conscience'.

The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE sees the presidency's decision as 'historic' since it heralds a peaceful and democratic outcome of events in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the daily does point to some dilemmas which have now arisen.

Recalling that the ninth point of the presidency's decision says that it does 'not prejudice future relations in Yugoslavia, or questions its territorial wholeness', OSLOBODJENJE asks who will guarantee the latter 'if the army leaves parts of the (country's) territory'.

'Will the same be done in all cases when existing leaderships declare that the Yugoslav Army is an occupier', OSLOBODJENJE writes, recalling that, under the Yugoslav constitution, no one has the right to sign the country's capitulation.

The Ljubljana daily NEZAVISNI DNEVNIK writes that the Presidency's decision was a positive political sensation, but warns that 'there are no reasons for excessive enthusiasm'.

According to another Slovenian daily, VECER of Maribor, the Presidency's decision proves that 'settlement of relations between Slovenia and Yugoslavia is definitely shifting from the military to the political field'.

The Ljubljana daily DELO is less optimistic. It asks 'what deal is in the background of the decision on the army's withdrawal, who gave what, who got what and who will, ultimately, lose something'.

It is not solely the possibility that Serbia has perhaps lifted the burden from Slovenia only because of 'its interests in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina'.

The paper writes that 'all military equipment, valued at around seven billion dollars' should be moved from Slovenia, which would considerably 'strengthen the negotiating positions of the opposing side in the continuation of talks' on future relations.

Mesic, Presidency Members on Army Withdrawal

LD1907200691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Presidency Stipe Mesic has stated that he voted against yesterday's decision of that body on the Yugoslav Army's withdrawal from the Republic of Slovenia for reasons of principle.

Mesic—who represents Croatia on the eight-member Presidency—said in an interview published by the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI in tomorrow's issue that "hostilities have stopped" and that "there is no reason for making rash decisions for only one republic."

Presidency Vice-President Branko Kostic told VECERNJE NOVOSTI that the decision was "the first major step towards a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis."

"In this way, we have created new conditions for easing tensions and avoiding new armed clashes on Slovenian territory, rather than prejudiced future talks," said Kostic, the representative of Yugoslavia's smallest republic, Montenegro.

Commenting on the situation in Croatia, Kostic said he was sure that a conflict with the Yugoslav Army would "not suit" the top Croatian leadership and that "it will not decide to use force in dealing with the question of the future status of Croatia," the second (?largest) Yugoslav republic.

Jugoslav Kostic, Presidency member from the Province of Vojvodina, a part of Yugoslavia's largest republic of Serbia, told the paper he had voted for the Army's withdrawal from Slovenia out of conviction that in that way, "we are showing to the Yugoslav, European and world public our determination to deal with our crisis peacefully and democratically."

Asked what would happen if Croatia too asked for the Yugoslav Army's withdrawal from its territory, Kostic said that "the problem of the Serbian people in Croatia must first be settled, justly and on a permanent basis, in accordance with the same principles that apply to the Croatian people, that is, on the basis of the right to self-determination."

Press Assesses Army Withdrawal Decision

LD2107144191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1251 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 21 (TANJUG)—Following the Yugoslav Presidency's decision on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) from Slovenia, the press points to the uncertainty of what will happen when army units start leaving the republic.

The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI recalls that Janez Drnovsek, the state Presidency member from Slovenia, appealed to Slovenian citizens and organs to enable peaceful departure of the "occupational army".

On the other hand, Slovenian Defence Minister Janez Jansa said that the YPA equipment and weapons should be left in Slovenia as war reparations, the paper writes.

Will the withdrawal proceed according to Drnovsek's or Jansa's forecasts, VECERNJE NOVOSTI asks, adding that "so far, Jansa's forecasts came true".

The paper also cites Yugoslav Defence Minister Veljko Kadijevic as telling journalists last Friday what the army would do if attacked while leaving Slovenia. Kadijevic said that "we would have to reply adequately, like soldiers".

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes that "it is in the interest of Slovenia not to complicate the political circumstances of the withdrawal with additional appetites".

It says that in case of attempts to turn the army's withdrawal "into a triumphal armed celebration and a plundering of technology, this could prove to turn into a great tragedy for the Slovenian people".

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes that the decision to withdraw the Federal Army from Slovenia "has become fateful for the rest of Yugoslavia".

"The next step will, most probably, be that the international monitor mission lose its mandate aad leave the country. Then, the clashes in Croatia will continue, with the danger of their spreading to Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that will be like fire in a cotton mill", VJESNIK writes.

The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE writes that two major factors must have influenced the decision on the withdrawal. "First, the fact that the army in Slovenia was declared an occupator and the second, that the army has nothing to do in the republic, following the European mediating mission".

The paper wonders whether the Yugoslav Presidency's decision is an "indirect recognition of the republic's right to secession".

If it is, the question is "what are the borders of the republic of Croatia in order for it to have the right to this 'advantage' and use it peacefully, of course", OSLOBODJENJE writes.

Radio Assesses Presidency's Decision

AU2007145891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Kosta Krajincanic commentary]

[Text] The SFRY Presidency's decision of last night has been received by a section of the public as an arbitrary, unconstitutional, and antihistoric act, as an act of eight men who are passing in the general chaos and without the authorization of the national legislature a judgment on the common state and are dismantling its integrity, which has been built over decades.

The latest decision by the eight indeed sounds shocking and causes two types of feelings. On the one hand, it is received as the Army's weariness to continue to perform its constitutional duty and as a definite act of surrendering Yugoslavia to Slovenia's secessionism. The most frequently raised question in connection with this is the question of whether the state Presidency has the right to reshape Yugoslavia, even though it is the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, because withdrawing the Army from one part of its territory virtually means giving up this part. The Army is an essential attribute of every country and is not present at the state borders without a reason. The state borders are being redrawn in the same direction the Army is withdrawing.

The explanation given by Borisav Jovic, member of the state Presidency, that the Army should not be stationed in the places it is considered to be occupying, however emotional and logically acceptable this may be, is not completely satisfactory for the confused public. If this were the rule, then the Army should immediately move out of Croatia. The Albanians in Kosovo do not really consider it to be their army either. As long as the system exists as such, it would have to function regardless of the kind of feelings or a lack of feelings that are being expressed toward it in certain parts of the country.

However, it is exactly here that a new circle of less emotional issues and thinking begins. If the withdrawal of the Army from Slovenia is not in the spirit of the Constitution and the system, if this is a crucial step toward the definite separation of this republic from the Yugoslav community, then this withdrawal is at least an expression of recognizing political reality in the country and of searching for the border between what is real and what is possible.

In a situation when almost all federal institutions have either become irregular or totally ineffective, there is no sense at all in citing the Constitution or laws, or, if you will, even history, because the will of the people is now obviously different from what it used to be in the past. The organization of Yugoslavia as a federation or a

confederation is no longer the subject of talks and negotiations. The subject is the search for an optimal solution for all and the way to avoid the worst, and the worst thing that could happen is a bloody showdown among the quarreling peoples. The prevention of such a catastrophe is an imperative that also calls for realism. The one who manages to prevent the war will gain great merit in history.

The number of contentious issues that are pushing the country into a war is reduced with the withdrawal of the Army from Slovenia and this republic's de facto independence. However, solving the most delicate issues is still in front of us, but the talks about them will now be entered with experience, albeit expensive, and more or less clear stands as to what extent one can go to in the next round of settling accounts.

The principle is clear: The peoples' right to decide on their future must be respected. This applies to both those who want to become independent and those who want to remain in the common state. However, drawing a line between these two rights is a very complex job in practical terms and is closely linked to a number of potential misunderstandings, disputes, and clashes.

Some proposals for this separation are already in circulation. Which one will be adopted and which one will be rejected remains to be seen. However, it is already certain that the agreement will ultimately have to be determined only by political reality, and not euphoria or national and state-creating exclusions.

An important part of this reality is the frequently expressed and proved wish of the Serbian people in Croatia to live in one state, even if it is a territorially reduced federal state, rather than a minority in a foreign country. If this reality is not considered, one could expect serious confrontations, that is to say, one could expect that by withdrawing again, the Army will draw new state borders, borders at which it will defend freedom, equality, and equal rights of the people and citizens who want to live within them.

Admiral Simic Explains Withdrawal

AU2107110891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Interview with Admiral Miroslav Simic by unidentified reporter; date, place not given—live or recorded; from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] [Reporter] Comrade Admiral, since, as we know, the SFRY Presidency has accepted the Army's proposal, can we ask you what the main reasons were for the Staff of the Supreme Command to propose to the SFRY Presidency the withdrawal of the people's Army from Slovenia? What motivated the Staff of the Supreme Command to propose such a measure?

[Simic] There are several reasons, political and military. I would like to mention only the most direct ones.

First, as is known, the decision of the SFRY Presidency of 12 July, whose implementation was guaranteed by the Presidency itself, was not realized within the established deadline, and there are no prospects that it will be realized in the foreseeable future. This placed the units, commands, and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army in an extremely difficult position, especially since the Army's supreme commander, the SFRY Presidency, was not able to carry out its decision.

Second, in the Republic of Slovenia, authorities at all levels continued to treat the Yugoslav People's Army as the occupying army. Propaganda against the Yugoslav People's Army and its members was becoming increasingly merciless. By blocking barracks and other military installations, as well as the families of active military personnel, the Slovenes turned the units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army into ghettos.

Under such circumstances the units of the Yugoslav People's Army were able to remain in the Republic of Slovenia only under the conditions that they start behaving in the same way they were treated. In other words, by behaving as an occupying army.

However, the Yugoslav People's Army neither wants to or can behave in such a way because this runs counter to its social being, the being of the People's Army. You must admit that it is a bit absurd to treat the Army as an occupying force in one's own country.

Third, the general political situation in the country, especially in the Republic of Slovenia, hindered the normal recruitment of Army units stationed in the Republic of Slovenia, not only the recruitment from the Republic of Slovenia, which is not sending recruits any longer, but also from other republics that no longer wish to send their recruits to be stationed in the Republic of Slovenia.

This means that these units would soon have only officers. I do not think there is any need to explain what this means. Because of these and a number of other reasons, we had to find a rational and realistic solution that would solve the problem of the units of the Yugoslav People's Army in the Republic of Slovenia and the problems of the families of the active military persons.

[Reporter] This solution, that is to say, the decision of the SFRY Presidency, implies large-scale movement by the units of the Yugoslav People's Army in Slovenia and the departure from this territory. Is the decision of the SFRY Presidency rational from the point of view of using the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia?

[Simic] I think that the decision of the SFRY Presidency of 18 July represents a realistic and rational solution under the present circumstances.

At the same time this decision is in line with the fundamental tasks of the Yugoslav People's Army, that is, to prevent interethnic armed clashes of greater proportions and to facilitate a peaceful and democratic

denouement of our social and, above all, state crisis, something that is in the interest of all our peoples, those who want to stay in the common state and those who want to create their own states.

This decision is also in line with the previously expressed view of the Yugoslav People's Army that it will not interfere in political decisions and that it will respect all agreements on the future of Yugoslavia which are reached in a peaceful and democratic way.

The first point [of the SFRY Presidency's decisions]—which states that the commands of the units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army will cease to be stationed on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia until a definite agreement on the future of Yugoslavia has been reached—is formulated in this sense.

[Reporter] The decision of the SFRY Presidency states that the Army will withdraw from Slovenia within three months. Some people claim that the Yugoslav People's Army is leaving Slovenia for good. There are also those who think that the Army could return to Slovenia after some time, after the final agreement on the future of Yugoslavia has been reached, and that the Army would then play some kind of federal role concerning the protection of outside borders, and that it would be somehow linked to the territorial defense whose task would be to protect the republic. What do you think?

[Simic] What will really happen in the future is difficult to say at present. However, from the formal point of view, the decision does not mean a definite departure of Army units from the territory of the Republic of Slovenia.

This is obvious from Point Nine of the Presidency's decision, which states that this decision does not predetermine future relations in Yugoslavia nor question its territorial integrity.

As for the Army, this means that the temporary or definite departure of Army units from Slovenia will not be known until and will depend on the politicians' final agreement on the future of Yugoslavia.

Finally, I would like to stress, regarding the decision of the SFRY Presidency of 18 July, that the adoption of this decision, and especially its realization, neutralizes the last quasi-trump cards in the hands of Army opponents who, in their fierce media war against the Army, are calling the Army all conceivable names: an occupying army, an undemocratic force that advocates violent solutions, and so forth.

POLITIKA Previews Presidency Session

LD2107143191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1242 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 21 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA said on Sunday that the extended session of the Yugoslav state Presidency set for tomorrow in Ohrid is the "last chance for peace in Yugoslavia."

Besides the eight members of the Presidency, the session is also to be attended by the presidents of all six Yugoslav republics, the Federal parliament president, the Yugoslav prime minister and the Federal defence, foreign and interior ministers.

As POLITIKA has learned, there will be three points on the agenda—guarantees of the republican presidents that they will prevent bloodshed on their territories in the next three months, the government's program for the implementation of the three-month moratorium on the independence decisions of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia and talks on the country's future.

As POLITIKA has unofficially learned, the third item will not be discussed unless the six presidents give public and written guarantees that they will prevent violence in any form in their republics.

The Presidency will, POLITIKA writes, also request the republican leaders to confirm its decision to withdraw the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia.

Judging by reactions in certain republics in the past few days, the Belgrade daily believes that the course of the the debate on this issue is uncertain.

POLITIKA recalls that "the Yugoslav public is already quite divided on that question and there is dissonance in the leaderships of certain republics as well."

POLITIKA considers that, judging by the order of the items on the agenda and by the reactions of republican leaderships to the Presidency's decision, the success of the "Yugo-summit" tomorrow will depend more on the stand of the republican presidents than the members of the Presidency itself.

Statement Issued by Delegations at Zagreb Meeting

LD2007175391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—At today's meeting in Zagreb, attended by government delegations of the Republics of Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Croatia led by their presidents, Lojze Peterle, Jure Pelivan, and Josip Manolic respectively, an official statement was released that says that current economic, political and safety issues were discussed as well as forms of cooperation in a situation in which federal institutions are not functioning.

As for relations between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, particular attention was paid to the problem of temporary refugees. The delegations of the two governments gave assurances that each of them will strive to ease and constructively resolve the problems and that a joint commission will be set up to this effect.

The delegations of the governments of the Republic of Slovenia, the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Republic of Croatia jointly condemned the violent acts that aim to undermine the legal system and disregard the legal authorities in the republics.

They reached an agreement on the strict implementation of the Brioni accord, on the need for the Yugoslav Army to adjust itself as soon as possible to democratic processes and economic potentials, and on the return of the Army to its barracks. It was noted in particular that the withdrawal of Yugoslav Army units from the Republic of Slovenia raises new questions of a political, security and economic nature.

It was also decided that a joint commission be set up to resolve the issues of the protection of legal entities and republics in their mutual relations and enable people, goods, and capital to circulate unhindered.

The forms of further cooperation following the period set by the Brioni accord were also discussed. The need and shared desire for cooperation were also expressed regarding participation in the world's integrative trends.

The delegations of the governments of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Republic of Slovenia were acquainted with a plan of the government of the Republic of Croatia for resolving the Yugoslav state and political crisis. The five-point plan will be thoroughly examined at the governments' sessions, it was said.

The presidents of the governments of the three republics suggest meetings between the governments of all six republics. The agenda of the first meeting should include an examination of institutional provisions during the moratorium period and the beginning of the final talks arising from the Brioni accord, the statement of the Ministry of Information of the Republic of Croatia on the three republican delegations' meeting concludes.

Belgrade Papers React to Djodan's Speech

LD1907100791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0936 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA today describes the speech by the defence minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Sime Djodan, on Wednesday as 'warmongering intriguing', characterized by 'quick-fire off-hand arbitrariness'.

The paper points to Djodan's statement that Croatia has the right to have 430,000 armed territorial defence troops and policemen, noting that he 'does not see Croatia in any other way than a police, or rather, an extremely militarist state'.

The daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI today calls Djodan the 'minister of fear', who has 'projected his fear on to the Croatian people'.

Pointing out that Djodan said that everything of Serbian and Yugoslav character was the 'arch-enemy of Croatia', the paper recalls that these were the same enemies 'on whom the head of the Quisling creation of the independent state of Croatia, Ante Pavelic, waged war fifty years ago' and lost.

The daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes that Djodan 'finally and irrevocably proved he is an extremist by conviction'.

'With Djodan, a dark and long night has really set on Croatia', POLITKA EKSPRES writes, noting that 'journalists for the most part laughed at Djodan's news conference'.

Daily Claims Three Presidents 'Provoked War'

LD1807163391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1133 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] Skopje, July 18 (TANJUG)—The Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA writes today that the 'presidents of the Yugoslav republics of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia—Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman and Milan Kucan, had provoked war and thrown Yugoslavia into chaos.'

NOVA MAKEDONIJA which is published in Skopje (capital of the Republic of Macedonia) underscores that the three presidents had done this through 'twenty-odd idolaters, servile narrow-minded hirelings, a large propaganda apparatus and the ideologized and biased General Staff of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA).'

'Milosevic, Tudjman and Kucan do not want a federation or a confederation or an alliance of sovereign states, just as they do not want democracy, human rights, or economic and political reforms,' underscores the paper.

The three presidents of the Yugoslav republics 'are certainly not those who want peace,' writes NOVA MAKEDONIJA, and concludes that 'moves should now be made by the democratic and progressive forces in Yugoslavia, the anti-war forces which are daily raising their voices in protest, demanding peace and reason, negotiations and solutions.'

Foreign Secretariat Spokesman on EC Mission

LD1907163291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1415 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—The decision of the Federal Presidency to withdraw the Yugoslav People's Army units from the northwestern Republic of Slovenia will facilitate the work of the European Community's mission, Foreign Secretariat spokesman Srdjan Kerim assessed here on Friday.

Kerim recalled, at his weekly press conference at the Secretariat, that a group of E.C. observers is already in Slovenia. As for the neighbouring Republic of Croatia, the mission's activities are connected exclusively with the barracks from which the units went to Slovenia and to which they now should return, he added.

The Foreign Secretariat spokesman noted that the E.C. mission has established a coordination centre in Zagreb. To cooperate with the mission, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs set up its own point in the Croatian capital.

The E.C. mission started working yesterday, under a memorandum of agreement signed by the representatives of the Yugoslav federation, Slovenia, Croatia and the European Community.

Government Seeks Status as 'One State'

LD2007014991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2328 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government and the foreign secretariat are determined to secure Yugoslavia's status of a subject of international law despite all difficulties in the functioning of Yugoslavia as one state, spokesman of the federal foreign secretariat Kerim told a press conference here on Friday.

Kerim said that federal organs "are not always in a position to coordinate the participation of Yugoslav republics and political parties in international cooperation" because "these subjects do not always demonstrate readiness to cooperate."

Asked about the recent visits to Turkey by the presidents of the republics of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and to Germany by the president of Croatia, Kerim said that it was an "established practice" of republican leaders to visit the countries they consider important partners.

A decision adopted at a recent meeting at the federal foreign secretariat with the Slovenian Foreign Ministry representatives was that all officials of the federal secretariat from Slovenia, which has unilaterally proclaimed independence, can apply for terminating their employment.

Kerim added that the Slovenian officials would remain in Yugoslav diplomatic missions abroad during the three-month moratorium but that they would have to behave in accordance with federal regulations and instructions of the federal secretariat.

Bank To Reexamine Sanctions on Slovenia, Croatia

LD1807202291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1733 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav National Bank representative Vukasin Markovic today announced that the board of governors of the bank would reexamine its decision to deny the national banks of Slovenia and Croatia access to primary issue. The board will consider this matter, at the request of the Yugoslav government, for the third time early next week.

The decision of the board of governors was a reaction to the adoption of unilateral acts on independence in these two Yugoslav republics late last month.

Subsequently, the Brioni declaration on a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis was adopted on July 7 and it was agreed that there would be a three-month moratorium on all republican acts.

In order for the board of governors to revoke its decision, "it is necessary that the governments or assemblies of the two republics declare ineffective all regulations adopted so far in areas for which the central monetary authorities are responsible under the constitution," Markovic explained at a press conference.

If the decisions of these republics are not published in official organs before the upcoming session of the board of governors, there is no possibility that the Yugoslav National Bank will revoke its decision, Markovic said.

Markovic underscored that the Yugoslav National Bank would conduct an integral credit-monetary policy for the entire country, without any exceptions through September, while the moratorium is in effect.

Despite the veto on the use of primary issue, the Slovenian and Croatian national banks made unauthorized use of "reserve money", the Yugoslav National Bank representative said.

Croatia "borrowed" 2.6 billion dinars from the federal treasury, and Slovenia 1.4 billion, Markovic said.

Under the official rate of exchange, one hundred German marks are equal to 1,300 dinars, but to about 2,000 on the black market.

Defense Secretary on Withdrawal

AU1907194791 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 91

["Exclusive" interview with Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, by Belgrade Television reporter Milord Komrakov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Komrakov] We are talking to Comrade General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, about last night's decision of the SFRY Presidency to relocate the units of the Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of Slovenia.

Comrade General, what is your view of the Presidency's decision on the relocation of the units of the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia?

[Kadijevic] The Staff of the Supreme Command proposed this decision and the entire Presidency adopted it.

[Komrakov] Why did the staff propose such a decision?

[Kadijevic] I would like say that there are two main reasons. One lies in the processes that have been going on in Yugoslavia for years, and which, unfortunately, what is referred to as the leadership of Yugoslavia failed to control by means of proper and timely decisions in the way that would lead the country out of the crisis. Just the opposite has happened.

What happened is that there were delays, that wrong decisions were made, and that we have almost come to the brink of a civil war.

I would only like to remind you that in March, when the Staff of the Supreme Command proposed to the Presidency some measures aimed at turning the situation around. As is well known, those measures were not accepted. I must say that those measures, with respect to their radical nature, were below the level of the ones that are being proposed now.

There are also measures, that is to say, reasons, of a direct nature. There are three main reasons: The first is that the Presidency's decision of 12 July was not carried out, although the Presidency guaranteed its implementation. The second reason lies in the fact that after this decision the Yugoslav People's Army continued to be treated in Slovenia in a manner putting it in an impossible position, treated as the occupying army, which is absolutely unacceptable for it. The third reason is that recently the situation has been rapidly and significantly deteriorating in all parts of Yugoslavia and all segments of society.

Therefore, the Staff of the Supreme Command last night proposed two decisions, the one that you mentioned, and another one, namely that the Presidency immediately undertake energetic measures for talks on the future of Yugoslavia to begin and continue, ending by 15 August at the latest.

Both decisions were adopted. We believe that the first is the practical move aiding implementation of the second.

[Komrakov] Will the Presidency's decision be realized?

[Kadijevic] This decision will be realized.

[Komrakov] What is the guarantee?

[Kadijevic] The guarantee is the existence of the ability and determination of the Army to implement point seven of the decision.

[Komrakov] Comrade General, do you expect the Slovene leadership to hinder the implementation?

[Kadijevic] You would have to ask them. I would, however, like to say a couple of things in this respect.

In the last few days I think the Army has performed two great acts for the Slovene people. The first one is that the Army avoided the war that was imposed on it, after it had carried out its tasks concerning the borders. This war was basically a guerrilla war, relying primarily on the urban environment. It did not respond to it in an appropriate, military way. It did not do that because such a war means a great loss of civilian life. According to some military theories, that are, of course, based on experience, the ratio of Army to civilian casualties in such a war is 1:10. Therefore the Army did not accept such a war.

The other act is the proposal on the physical relocation of the units of the Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of Slovenia. Of course, this does not affect the final position or place of Slovenia in the future organization of Yugoslavia.

In this way, the Army is showing that it does not in any way want to influence the choice of the Slovene people, something that had been claimed earlier. I must say, however, that if the war should again be imposed on the Army as it is carrying out this decision, the way it happened before, the Army will have to respond with appropriate military measures.

[Komrakov] What is the future of the Yugoslav People's Army?

[Kadijevic] The future of the Yugoslav People's Army depends on the future of Yugoslavia.

[Komrakov] Finally, Comrade General, which tasks will receive the greatest attention from the Army in such a difficult (?situation)?

[Kadijevic] There are several tasks. We consider two of them essential. The first is to ensure a peaceful denouement of the Yugoslav crisis, using primarily preventive measures, but also acting militarily, if necessary. The other one, which in a way represents the implementation of the first one, is to enable all the people of Yugoslavia to achieve their objectives, as democratically and as peacefully as possible, on whether or not they wish to live in a unified state.

[Komrakov] Comrade General....

[Kadijevic] Sorry. We in the Army will strive to fully implement these tasks and build the cohesion of the Army on this basis.

[Komrakov] Many thanks for this conversation.

[Kadijevic] Thank you.

General Adzic Addresses New Officers on Situation

AU2007193491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Mijusko Tomic report]

[Text] In the presence of Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia [nacelnik generalstaba oruzanih snaga Jugoslavije], and prominent military figures, a great number of parents, [word indistinct] sisters, and relatives of the

youngest generation of Army cadets of the Land Forces Military Academy in Belgrade, officers ranks were today [words indistinct] the young men who finished the 44th class of the Army cadets of the military academy for land forces and the third and fifth class of cadets (?acquiring) higher military expertise. Mijusko Tomic reports:

[Tomic] Today is an important moment in your life (?as well as for] our Army, which is becoming richer with yet another young generation of professionally trained [word indistinct]. This was stated by Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, addressing the newly promoted officers of the Armed Forces of our country.

[Begin Adzic recording] We are all experiencing the dramatic events in our common homeland with great pain. Yugoslavia has virtually already been plunged into civil war. Those who are destroying Yugoslavia have also attacked the Yugoslav People's Army with all their might. There is merciless propaganda against it and every other kind of campaign, which have now reached a (?climax) on Slovene territory.

Never and nowhere have such outbursts of madness and hatred been registered toward a country's own Army as they have in Slovenia. They behaved toward members of the Yugoslav People's Army as toward the worst enemies. Yugoslav People's Army personnel who for decades had been brought up in the spirit of patriotism and love for their people neither wished nor wanted to respond in the same way, although they possessed such firepower and might that they could blow them to smithereens and inflict even greater suffering on the people, and force those who teeter on the brink of a chasm to abandon their (?striving to) realize their [words indistinct] of imagined greatness and arrogance.

Only thanks to the intervention of the Army, were great bloodshed and tragedy of major proportions prevented. This will be quickly realized also by those who doggedly endeavor to lock us up in the barracks and to force us to calmly watch bloody orgies in many places in our country. The Yugoslav People's Army will continue to work as a factor of peace. It is of common and equal interest for each of our peoples that the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis be reached in a peaceful way and with the least number of casualties. This can only be achieved through agreement, and not through the use of force and one-sided acts.

Therefore the Army's primary task is to ensure the conditions for a peaceful denouement of the crisis. The Army will persist in this task and it will unite its own forces in this. This condition must be ensured at any cost, even with the use of arms when conflict will be imposed on us. Our message to those who prepare to impose another war on us in the future is that we will have to reply forcefully. [end recording]

[Tomic] In conclusion, another message by Colonel Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia:

[Begin Adzic recording] To those who blindly follow their mad nationalist leaders, and their nationalist-separatist leaderships, we address a message as our poet Aleksa Santic addressed in his time: Stay here. But those who do not want to do so, good luck to them under another sky and another sun. [end recording]

Charges of Ignoring Arms Shipments Reported

LD2107132191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1039 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Federal customs head Radosav Sekulic told the Belgrade daily POLITIKA that the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia had legally imported arms over the past few months, with the knowledge of authorized organs who had turned a blind eye.

Sekulic said that Federal customs officers "impounded three trucks with surface-to-surface missiles, which were illegally imported from Austria," late last month.

The trucks were followed to Ljubljana by the head of the Slovenian customs office, Franc Kosir, who stored them in warehouses of the firm Iskra, Sekulic explained.

According to him, the Federal customs office ordered a fine ten times the value of the customs duty, but the missiles remained in Slovenia and are being used.

Sekulic said that since his appointment to the post two months ago, he learned about "strange ways of importing arms from various parts of the world".

For example, he said that 20,000 Kalashnikovs from Bulgaria reached Croatia by a sea route, and 10,000 Kalashnikovs from Hungary via the Goricani border crossing.

Sekulic said "it is, for the most part, known where and how arms entered Yugoslavia in the past few months".

International

Italian Minister Denies Serb-Slovene Accord

LD2107202191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1742 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Rome, July 21 (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis has ruled out the existence of a "secret agreement" between the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Serbia at the expense of Croatia.

"Too much political fiction has been (?created) about the Yugoslav [word indistinct]. We cannot even remotely believe such a thing. In fact, Slovenia has, with its extremely one-sided action, created difficulties for Croatia, but this is an objective fact and not the outcome of a secret agreement", the Italian foreign ministerm said, speaking at the oening of a symposium on changing Europe at Udine on Saturday evening [20 July].

Gianni de Michelis said that the Italian Government had for some time believed that the " 'situation in Croatia is more difficult tham that in Slovenia". However, he regards as positive the fact that tensions in Slovenia have relaxed.

De Michelis spoke about the Yugoslav crisis also at a symposium on tourism in the Austrian town of Villach today.

The problem of Croatia is a "complex and complicated one, [words indistinct] insistence on self-determination does not meet the case", the Italian foreign minister said speaking about rising tensions in Croatia.

"The right of Croats to self-determination is absolutely legitimate, but the same holds true also for Serbs living in Croatia. What is important is to take a clear and irrevocable position to renounce the use of force in dealing with the Yugoslav problem", de Michelis said.

BORBA Assails Kohl's Reception of Tudjman

LD2007161191 Berlin ADN in German 1518 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade (ADN)—The largest Yugoslav newspaper, BORBA, issued in Belgrade, has today criticized an alleged contradiction between word and deed in German policy toward Yugoslavia. It regrets the fact that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman was received for talks by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. If German policy was "actually directed against extremist solutions to the Yugoslav chaos" then Bonn should have first invited one of those Yugoslav politicians who were working in the country in this spirit.

"German moves constantly throw a shadow on German promises," the paper says. The reception of Tudjman contradicted Germany's constantly repeated assurances that its policy on this issue does not differ from that of the European Community. The Belgrade newspaper maintains that the Germans, "by indirectly encouraging those forces fomenting the idea of a German conspiracy against Serbia and Yugoslavia," will only weaken the position of moderate forces in Yugoslavia and Serbia. These are the forces, however, that will have a significant influence on whether the Yugoslav crisis will end peacefully.

Reportage on Tudjman Visit to Germany

WA1907183691

For reportage on the visit by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to Germany, including reports on his talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, please see the Germany section of the 19 July West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Reportage on Loncar Visit to France

WA1907164591

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar to France, including reports on his talks with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, please see the France section of the 19 July West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Slovenia

3-Month Withdrawal Schedule Called 'Too Short'

AU2107120691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Miroslav Lazanski commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The fact that the Yugoslav People's Army is no longer protecting Yugoslavia's borders with Italy, Hungary and Austria, but that this is now being done by the troops of the Territorial Defense of Slovenia, introduces new factors in the international legal sense.

If, of course, Italy decides to declare the Osimo Agreements null and void, since these agreements were signed with the state of Yugoslavia and not Slovenia, then the situation on the northern borders of Slovenia, that is, Yugoslavia, could become complicated. In the last few days we had reports that a rather larger number of Italian troops were present on the border with Yugoslavia, that is, Slovenia, but that they withdrew to some extent in the last four days. Of course, this does not mean that they could not quickly come back to the positions they were in before.

It is certain that even if Slovenia becomes an international legal entity, or object, that is to say, even if it becomes recognized as a state by some countries, its next-door neighbors, particularly Italy, will probably not rush to recognize Slovenia's borders. This is an open question. So is the question of internal borders with Croatia, with the Republic of Croatia. All these questions concerning the borders could be a process that could last one or perhaps several years.

The very act of withdrawing the Army units raises some other questions and dilemmas: When and how and where should one build accommodations for all the Army officers who now have to leave the territory of Slovenia, as well as for all military pensioners who do not want to stay in Slovenia if it indeed becomes a an independent state in the international legal sense. Of course, there is also the problem of relõcating all military units, the problem of storing equipment, new barracks, buildings, hangars, proving grounds, training camps, classrooms, and offices. All this implies new material outlays in the already reduced military budget.

There is also the question of settling debts. As we know, throughout the last 46 years Slovenia has been paying a

part of its national income to the military budget of Yugoslavia. However, it is difficult to say at present whether there is an economist in Yugoslavia, Europe, or even the world, who could accurately express in figures how much each republic paid toward the Yugoslav military budget, and how much they were getting back through Army activities on their own territories. If the Army is now forced to leave Slovenia—which it is doing on the basis of its own decision—then the Army could submit its own bill: What is the value of a military airport, buildings, proving grounds, offices? One could also raise the question of the value of protecting the borders of Slovenia, that is Yugoslavia, for the last 46 years. This is also something that could be expressed in figures, approximate figures, of course. Again, it is difficult to say at present which economist would be prepared to bite into such a complicated matter.

Finally, when all these economic conclusions are reached, and it is clear who owes what, I think that this three-month period for withdrawing the Army units is too short. It would indeed be difficult for the Army to leave Slovenia with all its equipment, assets, and property in such a short period of time.

Kucan, Jansa on Withdrawal Decree

AU1907153591 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Vesna Burnik report on news conference held by Slovene President Milan Kucan and Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa in Ljubljana on 19 July—live or recorded]

[Text] At the news conference for domestic and foreign journalists this afternoon, Slovene President Milan Kucan and Defense Minister Janez Jansa also spoke about this, from every point of view, historic moment [SFRY Presidency decree on Army's withdrawal from Slovenia].

Both were of the opinion that the SFRY Presidency's decision was good. However, they also pointed out some dilemmas.

[Burnik] At the beginning, Milan Kucan said that the decision is positive and pleasing and that it is paving the way toward opportunities for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis and for the solution of the so-called Slovene question. However, the decree also comes as a surprise, because the Yugoslav Army itself offered to leave Slovenia. Such a decision suggests that the Army has opted for a peaceful and honorable departure, but, Kucan said, such a decision perhaps also suggests that the Army did not make a decision to carry out an attack on Slovenia by itself. The far-reaching effects of yesterday's decision lie in the fact that arms have made way for diplomacy and politics, that now is the time to weigh up different options, and that none of these options will be supported with weapons. Kucan again repeated that the events in Slovenia do not mean the YPA is a bad army, but rather point at the fact that the Army was neither trained nor prepared to attack its own nations. At the end, Kucan also said that a peaceful departure of the Army from Slovenia is in Slovenia's interest, although its withdrawal, of course, does not represent the solution to all problems. According to Kucan, the fulfillment of the demand by the Slovene Assembly—that the Army withdraws—in no way means that Slovenia's attitude toward Croatia and other republics has changed.

Janez Jansa said, among other things, that the federation, especially Ante Markovic, is responsible for the YPA's attack on Slovenia. He added that Slovene citizens serving in the YPA, as well as the Slovene officers in the Army will breathe more easily now. Now they will be able to leave the Army's ranks without danger. Janez Jansa also drew attention to some uncertainties, including the decree on the withdrawal of two corps, although the units of the 13 corps and of the military aviation are still present on Slovene territory. Furthermore, it also has not yet been agreed in what way the Army will retreat from Slovenia. This is expected to be agreed by a special commission, which has already been formed, today. His dilemmas concern the following issues:

A well-known military plan, Bedem 91, foresees withdrawal from the territory after an initial defeat, and that is what this decree might represent. However, Janez Jansa added, the events elsewhere in Yugoslavia do not suggest such a possibility. The second dilemma regards armaments and their significance, as these will in the future be concentrated on the territories supervised by Serbia. This can also mean that the latter will hold a stronger position in future negotiations. Janez Jansa also said that the international observers were surprised by this decree and that they concluded that their position is nevertheless changing [sentence as heard]. Regardless of what has been said, Jansa said that the SFRY Presidency's decree is positive and is pointing toward a rational solution of Yugoslav crisis. Finally, let us mention this last thought from his speech—namely, Jansa said that, regardless of when and how Slovenia becomes independent, it is in Slovenia's interest for its neighbors to have as few weapons as possible.

Kucan Welcomes Decision

LD1907194191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1808 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of Slovenia Milan Kucan has welcomed Thursday's [18 July] decision of the Presidency of Yugoslavia on the Army's withdrawal from the northwestern republic over the next three months.

"The conciliatory, reasonable attitude follows on the aggravation and statements by leading men in the Yugoslav Army, which means that the Army was choosing between two alternatives—to continue the total war, or to turn to a peaceful, honourable and reasonable proposal for the withdrawal," Kucan told a press conference in Ljubljana.

"What has happened allows us to think that the armed intervention of the Army after June 25 was not its arbitrary decision," he added.

Kucan was of the opinion that what happened in Slovenia cannot be assessed as due to incompetence of the Army.

"The Yugoslav Army has been trained for defence from outside aggressors, not for struggle with its own people," he said.

Noting that an enlarged meeting of the Federal Presidency will be held on Monday [22 July] in Ohrid, Kucan added that these preparations for dialogue on a solution to the Yugoslav crisis may mean a new and probably decisive chapter, and that Slovenia will fully engage in it.

Slovenian Defence Minister Janez Jansa told newsmen that the decisions of the Yugoslav Presidency confirm Ljubljana's estimate that the Army would not launch an aggression on Slovenia without "cover" from certain Federal organs and circles abroad.

"Therefore," added Jansa, "we may now point out even more clearly the responsibility of Federal organs and personal responsibility of Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic."

He said that the Presidency decision referred explicitly to the withdrawal of only two Army corps, without mentioning parts of other corps on the territory of Slovenia.

In Jansa's view, the Yugoslav Army's withdrawal from Slovenia should be supervised by the commission supervising the ceasefire. The commission will meet already today, he said.

So far as the group of E.C. observers is concerned, their role is now changing, noted Jansa, adding that "it would be [word indistinct] for all if these observers could also supervise the way in which the Yugoslav Army is withdrawing from Slovenia."

Officers' Reaction to Presidency Decision Cited

AU2107192891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] The Republican Defense Ministry has issued a public statement in which it cited some reactions of Yugoslav Army members to the recent SFRY Presidency decision. The decision is supported by the soldiers and officers who did not approve of the military attack, and it is condemned by those who voiced extremist views during the aggression.

Thus, a pilot who defected from the military airfield in Bihac said that on Friday the commander of the Fifth Air Corps, Commander Bajic, deemed the Presidency decision to be treason and even said that General Kadijevic was a traitor. Colonel Bajic has apparently chosen several like-minded people among the pilots and sent them in planes fully loaded with armaments to act against targets in Slovenia and Croatia.

The action was aborted for unknown reasons only after the aircraft were already airborne, it is said in the public statement issued today by the Slovene Defense Ministry.

Army, Slovene Delegations Negotiate Withdrawal

AU2107190191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 21 Jul 91

["Highlights" of Slovene Defense Ministry statement issued on 21 July]

[Text] Delegations of the Republic of Slovenia and of the Yugoslav Army headed by Miran Bogataj, deputy republican defense minister, and Andrej Raseta, deputy commander of the Fifth Army District, met in Ljubljana today and discussed the way to implement the Brioni Declaration and the SFRY Presidency decisions on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from the Republic of Slovenia.

Among other things, they agreed at today's talks that the Yugoslav Army will announce in advance any transport of five or more vehicles and any overflight of helicopters needed for carrying out the withdrawal and will do so to the Republican Information Center 24 hours in advance of the movements. There will be no movements of military vehicles or Yugoslav Army units in Slovenia except as part of the withdrawal and after prior announcements. There will be no military truck movements in Slovenia except of empty vehicles needed to carry out the SFRY Presidency decisions.

At their upcoming meeting in Zagreb, the two sides will agree about the movements of individual military vehicles between garrisons, but there are so far no obstacles to traffic of military ambulances and personal vehicles, as well as vehicles for transporting food and other needs to the barracks.

During the talks with the Army delegation, the representatives of the Republic of Slovenia particularly warned about the item of the Presidency decision that makes it possible for Slovene citizens to freely leave military units. The Yugoslav Army delegation has declared that these problems will be solved within the three-month time period and the Slovene side has reiterated that there are no sound reasons to delay the release of Slovene soldiers. They also proposed that the release of soldiers and active military personnel should be a special item at negotiations at the upcoming meeting in Zagreb.

The Yugoslav Army delegation informed the Slovene side that they are preparing a special operational plan of withdrawal from Slovenia. According to it, units will be first withdrawn from the border, followed by withdrawal of small garrisons, and then withdrawal of material and technical equipment, and finally of the remaining units.

Peterle Interviewed on Tripartite Talks in Zagreb

AU2007155391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Government delegations of Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina met in Zagreb this morning. They were led by Prime Ministers Josip Manolic, Lojze Peterle, and Jure Pelivan. As they stated later at a press conference, they met at the suggestion of Bosnia-Hercegovina, because federal institutions are not working. They discussed primarily their common economic interests, and the delegations of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina especially discussed the border area. Let us hear what Prime Minister Lojze Peterle told our correspondent Alenka Terlep after he ended his visit to Zagreb:

[Begin recording] [Terlep] Mr. Peterle, you met the government delegations of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. You primarily discussed economic problems. Did you conclude anything of significance, and how do you assess the talks?

[Peterle] A concrete result of these talks is that we have decided to set up a tripartite commission—which means that it will embrace all three republics—that will constantly monitor economic cooperation, eliminate the disturbances that have happened, and prevent any fresh ones. Regardless of what the future agreement on cohabitation or dissociation may be, it is in our common interest that trade, as well as wider economic cooperation, flow unhindered. I think that in this sense I did not come to Zagreb for nothing.

[Terlep] There has been much appropriation of property of Slovene firms, as well as Croatian firms, in Bosnia-Hercegovina recently. Did you specifically discuss this problem, too?

[Peterle] Yes, we talked very specifically about this. The Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, or rather its government, has shown its willingness to solve these problems. On our side, we also said that we are prepared to settle the problems arising from this republic's temporarily blocked vehicles in Slovenia during the war. I think that we are well on the way to resolving this, although I doubt somewhat that this government will be able to solve these problems considering that we have reports that its internal organs also participated in the appropriation of our property. Nevertheless, I hope that this government has sufficient power to resolve some of these matters. It certainly expressed its serious readiness to do so.

[Terlep] And the last question: Did you also talk about the Presidency decision to withdraw the Army from Slovenia?

[Peterle] This was mentioned by the way. The representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina expressed their surprise that they were not informed about it, and they said that when you send somebody to live somewhere it is good to ask the landlord how this can be arranged. In this respect I understand them well.

[Terlep] Thank you. [end recording]

General Raseta Comments on Withdrawal Action

AU2007195791 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Interview with Lieutenant General Andrija Raseta, deputy commander of the Fifth Army Region, by Djordje Raseta at the Fifth Army Region command in Zagreb—recorded]

[Text] [Djordje Raseta] General Raseta, how did you, in your Army Region, receive these decisions by the SFRY Presidency on the withdrawal of your units from the territory of Slovenia?

[General Raseta] Regardless of the feelings of all the Yugoslav People's Army personnel, and especially the officers and the civilians who stayed and lived for a long time in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia, we as soldiers—considering all the decisions that the leaders, or rather the SFRY Presidency and the Supreme Command Staff, adopt—we carry out our tasks and duties. It is certain that even these orders adopted under the latest decisions will be realized regardless of how difficult this will be for the individuals who have started families and also have some other ties in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia.

[Djordje Raseta] You have been a soldier a long time. How do you experience all these events concerning the Yugoslav People's Army, as a soldier and as a man?

[General Raseta] I experience this gravely. This is not a matter of the Yugoslav People's Army, it is a matter of Yugoslavia. The image of Yugoslavia as a state is the image of the Yugoslav People's Army. If Yugoslavia breaks up, it is natural that this also reflects on the Yugoslav People's Army. No man in the Yugoslav People's Army can reconcile himself to such a fact, but on the contrary we all want the fate of Yugoslavia to be resolved in a peaceful way, and in this way the fate of the Yugoslav People's Army will also be resolved.

U.S. Official: Must Gain Peaceful Independence

LD2107213791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2050 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 21 (TANJUG)—U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger has told Foreign Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Dimitrij Rupel that Slovenia can become independent only by peaceful means, i.e., through an agreement with Yugoslavia.

Rupel, who has just returned from a visit to the United States, made a statement to this effect on Ljubljana Television this evening. He stressed that the visit had not been organized through the Yugoslav Embassy, which the U.S. side had accepted.

Rupel said that the U.S. side had been acquainted with the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Slovenia, and in this context it had been emphasized that the 'withdrwal is not a blow to (the Yugoslav Republic of) Croatia.' He said he was sure that the U.S. is now convinced of this.

The Slovenian foreign minister said he had personally been given a document which makes no mention whatever of a unified Yugoslavia, but speaks only of 'respect for a peaceful method of resolving the conflict.'

Rupel, who was accompanied on the visit by Director of the Slovenian Auditing Service Igor Omerza, said that a normalization of relations between U.S. and Slovenian banks had also been discussed.

Croatia

Tudjman Meets Press on Osijek Municipality Talks

LD2107135491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Servicedd GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Osijek, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—"My arrival here aims to show to the leadership and citizens of eastern Slavonia that all Croatia is here," Croatian President Franjo Tudjman told journalists following his talks today with top officials of the Osijek municipality.

"It is out of the question that Croatia is willing to have any kind of talks about ceding eastern Slavonia," Tudjman said in a statement carried by Croatian radio.

Croatia will find a way to help the population of eastern Slavonia in their defense of Croatia's eastern border, Tudjman said.

Tudjman also called on the "Serbian population" of eastern Slavonia to "reconsider how they could dissociate themselves from the Chetniks' delusions" and to restore their coexistence with the Croats, Hungarians, and other nationalities in this area.

"I have even heard," Tudjman added, "that there are Serbs who are staying together with the Croats to defend their village." He cited the case of Sarvas village, some 15 kilometres from Osijek.

"One should expect the Serbs to oppose even more resolutely the Chetniks' rampage," Tudjman said, adding that he expected even more pronounced signals from among the Serbian ranks that there was a desire for a political solution.

Tudjman said that at today's meeting at the Osijek municipality, he heard that fire was opened last night from high-calibre mortars and machine guns in Vojvodina on the Croatian forces and villages, which meant that Serbia was already waging a war in its own way.

"We will do our best to make it clear to the Serbian leadership that its support for the Chetniks' rampage on Croatia's soil has gone beyond the point of not only giving rise to the risk of war breaking out, but also of endangering the Serbian population itself in this part of Croatia that is allegedly being protected although it is under no threat, Tudjman said.

Tudjman assessed that the situation "around and in Croatia is getting more complicated, particularly regarding the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Slovenia."

The Chetnik organizers in Croatia are intensifying their terrorist actions, and this is why Croatia "must fully mobilize its forces and organize its police and national guard, so it can be prepared to face up to the escalation of Chetnik unlawfulness," Tudjman said.

Croatian radio broadcast the president's statement at 1320.

Tudjman Calls For Army To Leave Croatia

LD1907171491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman has asked of the federal Army to withdraw also from that republic.

"We can welcome the decision that the Yugoslav Army withdraw from (the Yugoslav Republic of) Slovenia, if it is the first step towards its withdrawal from Croatia as well", Tudjman told a press conference on his return from Germany this afternoon.

In explanation of the negative vote on the withdrawal by President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Stipe Mesic, Tudjman said that Mesic had "quite certainly not voted against the Yugoslav Army's withdrawal from Slovenia, but against its non-withdrawal from Croatia".

Mesic represents Croatia on the collective head of state.

"We demand that the Yugoslav Army first return to barracks and then evacuate completely from sovereign Croatia", Tudjman said.

He said that Croatia would "define further steps in this direction" and table its demand for the army's return to barracks at the very next session of the state Presidency with the presidents of the republics in Ohrid.

Tudjman on Fate of Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD1907213791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2110 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 19 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman said in Zagreb today that his republic supported respect for the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but that, should someone jeopardize that sovereignty, then the question of the Croatian people who live in this central Yugoslav republic must be raised.

Speaking at a press conference, Tudjman explained that neither his "personal stand, nor the official stand of Croatia regarding Bosnia-Hercegovina' had changed.

In a recent interview to the London TIMES, Tudjman said that he believed that the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina was the best solution for the current crisis in Yugoslavia.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has the most colourful ethnic structure of all the Yugoslav republics. According to this year's census, the population of this republic includes 43.7 percent Muslims, 31.3 percent Serbs and 17.3 percent Croats.

A statement issued by the Croatian Party of Law, which urges an independent state of Croatia, underscored that 'the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is an artificial creation, and that Bosnia and Hercegovina are two Croatian provinces.'

The Banja Luka regional committee of the Serbian Democratic Party which rallies Serbs, one of the three parties in the ruling republican coalition, said in its statement that the recent visit of republican president Alija Izetbegovic to Iran and Turkey was an 'infernal plan' by its leaders to divide up Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Committee President Radislav Vukcic said that western Hercegovina, populated predominantly by Croats, was 'semi-officially already Croatian territory and that it was relying on Muslims to whom Croatian Defense Minister Qime Djodan had appealed to joint in a war against brother Serbs.'

Leaders of the Party of Democratic Action, the Croatian Democratic Union, and the United Socialist Party of Yugoslavia-The Serbian Party of Justice issued a joint statement pointing out that Muslims, Serbs and Croats in central Bosnia had always lived well together and appealing for togetherness and mutual respect in future also.

U.S. Envoy Denies Croatian Account of Remarks

LD1907142891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1328 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmermann today denied a report by the Croatian News Agency HINA according to which Washington believes, among other things, that the Yugoslav People's Army 'does not enjoy the trust of the majority of the population.'

The ambassador said in a press release that the Croatian news agency 'wrongly interpreted' his statement during yesterday's meeting with Yugoslav Presidency President Stjepan Mesic in Zagreb.

Among other things, HINA reported that 'Mr. Zimmermann conveyed the official stand of Washington that the army cannot, in any part of Yugoslavia, take the place of internal forces whcih maintain law and order as it does not enjoy the trust of the majority of the people, and therefore its gradual withdrawal to the barracks would contribute to the calming down.'

HINA also said that 'Zimmermann expressed concern about the further development of Croat-Serbian relations in the republic and welcomed the measures planned by the Croatian authorities for restoring the trust of the Serbian people in Croatia and the intentions of the Croatian authorities. The United States upholds the initiative of the European Community and will continue to actively uphold its future peace initiatives.'

Zimmermann's press release today says: 'I said that Croatia had created large military forces and that the Serbian population in Croatia did not have guarantees for its safety. These forces should be reduced. On the other hand, the Yugoslav People's Army should return to the barracks, Responsibility for internal security should be in the jurisdiction of the republics, but in a confidence- building manner. There is, thus, a need for demobilization on both sides as well as for serious efforts towards building mutual trust.

Army Implicated in Vinkovci Shelling

LD1907142491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] According to information from the first local community in Vinkovci, which was also confirmed for us by in the information center, half an hour ago from the direction of Mirkovic, four shells fired by the Army landed on the building of the municipal assembly. Target accuracy was proof that the four shells were fired from the Army which has precise coordinates and well-trained professional marksmen. The previous 20 shells that have fallen around the center of Vinkovci were not as accurate, meaning that they were fired by the Chetniks. We have also learned from the headquarters of the National Guard that in agreement with the Guard and the political administration of Vinkovci, the Army has left the (?Vracane) barracks for Mirkovci. The agreement was to set up a buffer zone between the Chetnik groups and the town itself where mortar shells are falling and hitting civilian buildings and the population. For the moment we have no details on whether anyone was killed or wounded during the latest shelling.

We have also learned from the headquarters of the National Guard that the mobilization of reserve forces has been carried out.

Banija Conflict at 'New High'; Unrest Summarized

LD2107144991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1421 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 21 (TANJUG)—The conflict between troops of the Interior Ministry of the Yugoslav republic of Croatia and the republican national guard on the one side and the local Serb population on the other

reached a new high today in the region of Banija, which lies on Croatia's border with the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Croatian police are preventing journalists from approaching the town of Kostajnica where a clash took place last night.

No casualty toll has been announced, although the scale of the gunfire and number of mortar bomb explosions that could be heard indicate that it could be high.

Fighting also took place last night near the town of Dvor na Uni when reinforcements in the form of eight Croatian police and national guard lorries and two terrain vehicles sought to approach the village of Jovac, whereupon the local Serbs responded with gunfire and repelled the attack.

There was fresh fighting during the night in the region of Slavonia. The duty officer at the police headquarters in the town of Osijek told TANJUG today that around midnight members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) [YPA] stationed near the Bogojevo bridge on the Danube opened fire with machine guns on Croatian police and national guard positions.

Police sources say the machine-gun fire lasted about 30 minutes and no casualties were recorded. An inquiry will be carried out today.

The Osijek army garrison said they had no information because the JNA unit at the bridge was not under their command.

The information centre of Vojvodina, a province within the republic of Serbia, said today some 125 refugees had fled from Croatia to the province over the past two days.

The centre has up until today recorded a total of 15,040 Serbs who have fled from Croatia.

The commune of Dubrovnik, the best known holiday resort on the Yugoslav Adriatic coast, decided today to invite inhabitants of Slavonia who have been hit by the fighting there to shelter in hotels in the area.

Zeljko Luzavac, mayor of the northern Adriatic port city of Rijeka, informed Commander of the Rijeka JNA Corps Marijan Cad that "protection of military facilities with mines is not necessary."

Luzavac was refering to a series of about ten explosions which have taken place near JNA facilities in Rijeka, two of them early this morning.

Cad said it had been established that "unknown persons were deliberately setting off landmines," which, he said, "have been laid only around military storage facilities, where there is in any case no place for uninvited persons."

3 Police Shot in Back in Daruvar

LD2107055991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0400 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Excerpt] Last night at 2355 in the center of Daruvar, while carrying out regular patrol duty, three policemen from the Daruvar police station were killed. It seems an unidentified person followed them and then, near the two park, at the crossroads of (?Svaticeva) and Koncareva streets, shot them in the back. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Mesic, Draskovic Hold Talks 19 Jul

LD2007014391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2218 GMT 19 JUl 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Presidency Stipe Mesic and leader of the Serbian Renewal [Renaissance] Movement, the largest opposition party in the Republic of Serbia, Vuk Draskovic, agreed in their talks here on Friday that "war cannot settle anything." Urging dialogue as the only way of dealing with problems, Mesic - who reesents Yugoslavia's second largest republic, Croatia, on the federal presidency - pointed out [words indistinct] from Yugoslavia does not mean an end of the [words indistinct] new model in which we would live.

Draskovic assessed that the most pressing requirement known after the Croatian parliament's unilateral decision on dissociation, was the "drawing of borders between the Serbs and Croats" because "this is the only way to stop the war."

In his view, this would have to be done "while keeping as much as possible to the existing ethnic map, as well as to the 1941 map for the areas in which genocide was committed over the Serbian people."

Hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Romanies and Jews were killed during the war by Ustashas, members of the fascist formations on the [words indisticnt] the Quisling [word indistinct] state of Croatia.

Coming out against a division or [word indistinct] of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Draskovic noted however that some [word indistinct] could be made in the borders of this central Yugoslav republic. He mentioned that Croatia could get "Croatian Krajinas in Hercegovina" in return for "Serbian Krajinas."

Mesic replied that there was no border anywhere in the world that is "absolutely [words indistinct] all Italians, Germans or Frenchmen do not live only in their respective states, and that privilege cannot be enjoyed either by Croats." Urging the protection of [words indistinct] Mesic said that "borders will not mean much once we are in the European home."

Serbian Minister on Serbs in Croatia, Borders

AU2107071391 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Studio interview with Stanko Cvijan, minister for contacts with Serbs outside Serbia—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] Mr. Cvijan, at what point will Serbia decide whether to accept the demand by Serbian Autonomous Region [SAR] of Krajina to join Serbia?

[Cvijan] It is well-known that SAR of Krajina, Baranja, Slavonia, and Western Srem, or rather their people, have in a plebiscite-like way decided that they want above all to join Serbia, Montenegro, or rather all other peoples who want to stay in Yugoslavia. At the session of the National Assembly we also assessed and endorsed this will of the people.

In the future, it is precisely a matter for these people who ought to remain in Yugoslavia—even if it were smaller, but I hope more free and more democratic—to regulate their relations.

In a word, we have not accepted the idea to join Krajina to Serbia, because in this case we would unilaterally change the internal borders and we would probably be considered aggressors. In the way the National Assembly has replied, we appear to be the guardians of Yugoslavia, and I must say that the Serbian people who have expressed their will and who want to stay to in the future Yugoslavia have understood this National Assembly decision.

[Reporter] Croatia dictates the pace of secession. In the regions where war is now being waged, the world sees and we see that it is actually a struggle for borders between two future states, if they arise. What will happen with the Serbs who will, nevertheless, remain in a future new Croat state?

[Cvijan] The Serbs who will remain in the future Croat state—and (?as one says) a sovereign independent state, and I must say at once that the present AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] administrative borders are completely out of the question [sentence incomplete as heard]. It is certain that within those borders, Serbs will remain, and they will obviously be the subject of our further care.

Therefore it is to be expected that they will have serious problems and difficulties indeed, bearing in mind the current regime in Croatia. However, it must not be forgotten that Croats will remain to live not only in Serbia but also in a future Yugoslavia. Therefore there is some scope for talks indeed. I only live in the hope that these Serbian people have their status as deserved by a people.

[Reporter] One says: negotiate, negotiate, negotiate. You probably also are in favor. Are you prepared to visit your opposite number in Zagreb, and are you thinking about it?

[Cvijan] Certainly. Let me say that I share the position of the Republic of Serbia and that we are very much concerned that this Yugoslav crisis be resolved in a peaceful way. It is understood that this may be realized on a basis of talks and negotiations. Therefore I would have nothing against, let me say, joining in such a business.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, in your opinion, is there any way that Croatia might desist from secession?

[Cvijan] I think at this moment this certainly could not happen, above all if one bears in mind the circumstances under which the elections were carried out in Croatia and the nature of the regime in Croatia. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, if one bears in mind the unprecedented propaganda over the past year.... It is not a matter of the regime only, or of the leadership only, I would now say that it is a matter of the people.

Bearing in mind the Croatian people not only in the past year but in general, regarding their attitude toward Yugoslavia, it indeed seems to me that they will not change their minds.

However, a mellowing may occur here, regarding the attitude toward the Serbian people. A certain time ago it was completely impossible to talk about cultural autonomy. Probably they are now willing to talk even about political autonomy. However, I am convinced—bearing in mind the past, let alone the present—that the Serbian people will not be deluded. The majority of the Serbian people believe that this is a historic occasion when their status should and must be permanently resolved. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Seeks Independence

AU1907155891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] The feeling that more serious confrontations in Kosovo are inevitable is rapidly spreading among the Albanians. This was stated at today's press conference by Fehmi Agani, a staff member most closely associated with the top of the leadership of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo. This party insists, in his words, on the natural right of Albanians to self determination. Its leadership believes that Albanians are threatened by a potential massacre and a lack of organization under such circumstances would be naive.

However, assertions as to the of existence of Albanian paramilitary units and headquarters in Kosovo and Metohija were denied. It was stated that the Democratic Alliance has nothing to do with that.

The press reports about alleged numerous killings of Albanians who work in the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Croatia were also dismissed as false. As far as we know, stated Fehmi Agani, no Albanians within the ranks of the Croatian guard were killed.

This party will strive to prevent implementation of the law passed by the Assembly of Serbia to give land to the Serbs who are moving to live in the province. The Democratic Alliance is in favor of establishing the Republic of Kosovo, but if Yugoslavia should cease to exist, the Albanians will attempt to secede. It was confirmed that the Democratic Alliance is attempting to establish bodies of parallel authorities in Kosovo and that the initial results of these efforts are already apparent.

The leadership of this party did not wish to comment on the most recent resolution of the Yugoslav presidency to withdraw the units of Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia, though they welcome this resolution. It was stated that Ibrahim Rugova has not yet returned from Tirana.

Kosovo Opposition Leader on Army Withdrawal

LD1907184891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1549 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Pristina, July 19 (TANJUG)—Fehmi Agani, the vice-president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DAK), said on Friday he was unable to predict how the Yugoslav State Presidency's decision to withdraw Yugoslav People's Army units from the Republic of Slovenia would reflect on the Province of Kosovo.

Agani told a news conference in Pristina that the DAK, the strongest opposition party of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, 'welcomes any decision which leads to a peaceful settlement of problems.'

Agani underlined that 'there are no dead Albanians from the ranks of the Republic of Croatia's Guard (army),' but did not deny that ethnic Albanians were engaged in the Croatian army and police.

Agani said he did not have information that ethnic Albanians in Kosovo already had armed formations, but added that it was 'the natural right of everyone to protect himself and organize in self-defence.'

He said that 'not to work on this in circumstances of a possible massacre threatening the Albanians is really irresponsible.'

Agani expressed firm conviction that Kosovo would sooner or later become independent.

He underlined that Kosovo's request for a republic was clear and that the other option, the province's secession, would be applied only if Yugoslavia ceased to exist.

Commenting the law adopted two days ago by the Assembly of Serbia on giving land to Serbs in Kosovo, Agani said that the 'act is aimed at re-colonizing Kosovo,' that 'Serbia is giving away land and property which are not its to give' and that everything would be done to 'unmask and prevent' such a policy.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic on Danger of Civil War

AU2207084091 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 Jul 91 pp 118-119

[Interview with Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Everybody Will Fight Against Everybody Else"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Is the fear that the civil war in Yugoslavia will also spread to Bosnia becoming reality?

[Izetbegovic] If the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be divided—quite certainly. Then this war will not stop at the doors of Europe. In this war everybody will fight everybody else.

[DER SPIEGEL] For such a case Croatia has declared itself the "natural ally" of the Muslims against the Serbs. Now, however, Croatia's President Tudjman reportedly said that Bosnia's division is the only solution for Yugoslavia.

[Izetbegovic] He has denied that in the meantime. I hope to God that he really did not say that.

[DER SPIEGEL] What do you think was the topic of the secret talks between Tudjman and Serbia's President Milosevic?

[Izetbegovic] The division of Bosnia, of course. But the two were not able to agree, and I am absolutely sure that they will never come to an agreement. They would come to blows over every single piece of the loot. Bosnia is indivisible. Our borders were mentioned and confirmed in numerous peace agreements, also at the Berlin Congress in 1878. Our nationalities live spread out, like the spots on the skin of a leopard—44 percent Muslims, 31.3 percent Serbs, 17.3 percent Croats, and other ethnic groups.

[DER SPIEGEL] What do you think of the proposal to divide Bosnia and Hercegovina into cantons?

[Izetbegovic] This can be discussed, but first someone should explain to me the sense of this idea. Cantons in Bosnia are not the same as cantons in Switzerland.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would this not be an opportunity to found an independent Islamic state within the framework of Bosnia's division?

[Izetbegovic] This has even been offered, but we have rejected this offer. We want a people's republic of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. This is the only realistic solution. Here the mentality is different from that in

other Yugoslav republics. We have learned not to ask anybody: What is your creed?

[DER SPIEGEL] Whom do you consider as the more dangerous man striving for power—Milosevic or Tudjman?

[Izetbegovic] Chronologically, Milosevic was there first, he wanted to force the formation of Greater Serbia. Today, however, the two are similar in many aspects. One is exclusively Serbian, the other one is an uncompromising Croat.

[DER SPIEGEL] Following the Serbian philosophy, Europe must be protected in Bosnia against the spread of Islam.

[Izetbegovic] The Serbs already propagated this theory during their campaign against the Albanians in Kosovo: the struggle against Islam. Without success—all the world, even Serbia's traditional friends, such as the United States and France, were on the side of the Albanians.

[DER SPIEGEL] You have just been to Ankara, previously you visited al-Qadhdhafi in Libya. What did you want to achieve there?

[Izetbegovic] Political support, of course.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did you also ask for help with arms, if the Islamic believers are threatened?

[Izetbegovic] Not yet, but I do not know what would happen if our fellow-believers really were in danger. If Germany has the right to worry about Yugoslavia—why not Iran? We are not only looking toward Europe. We want to link the Eastern and Western parts of the world.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does Bosnia-Hercegovina also plan to declare its independence and secede from Yugoslavia, if Croatia gets its will?

[Izetbegovic] We will only remain in a Yugoslavia that contains both Serbs and Croats. You can interpret this as you like.

[DER SPIEGEL] The State Presidency decided to withdraw the Army from Slovenia. Is this only a tactical maneuver or the beginning of the splitting of Yugoslavia?

[Izetbegovic] We have requested that the State Presidency revise this decision. This is one of the most important decisions in this country after World War II. Its effects on Bosnia and Hercegovina as well as on the other republics must be made clear first.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you ask the Federal Army for help if a civil war were to break out in Bosnia?

[Izetbegovic] If I have the choice between chaos and the Army, I would choose the Army.

Izetbegovic Denies Interest in Islamic State

LD2107132691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0948 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 21 (TANJUG)—Presidency president of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic denied claims that he wishes to form an Islamic state.

In an interview carried by the Zagreb daily VJESNIK today, Izetbegovic specified that his aim is creating a civilian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"We are seeking complete freedom of religion for all, equally for Moslems, Christians and others," Izetbegovic explained.

The leader of Bosnia-Hercegovina confirmed a journalist's statement that there is "much anxiety over Dr Franjo Tudjman's statement concerning the division of the republic between Croatia and Serbia."

Although Tudjman denied this, "from the stand point of Croatian interest, this was politically a damaging statement", Izetbegovic concluded.

The attempt to divide the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, accoring to Izetbegovic, "would quite certainly lead to civil war which would involve Yugoslavia and the Balkan Peninsula and possibly even Europe."

Asked whether it is "too late to internationalize the Moslem-Bosnian problem", Izetbegovic replied that "this is just the right moment."

"Before, this would have been some kind of dramatization of the problem, as it was still believed that Yugoslavia is capable of resolving its problems itself. But tomorrow may be too late," Izetbegovic said.

Alija Izetbegovic also heads the Party of Democratic Action, which rallies Moslems in the ethnically mixed republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to the latest census, Moslems account for 44 percent of the population in the republic, Serbs 32 percent and Croats 18 percent.

Withdrawal Unofficially Welcomed by Officials

AU1907184591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Ljubomir Nikolic report from Sarajevo]

[Text] There are no official comments in Bosnia-Hercegovina on the decision of the Yugoslav Presidency to withdraw the Yugoslav People's Army units from Slovenia, but many people believe that this was the most reasonable decision made by the collective chief of state so far. The delegation of the Bosnia-Hercegovina government will talk tomorrow in Zagreb with the representatives of the Slovenian and Croatian governments.

[Nikolic] Nobody in the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina is trying to conceal any satisfaction regarding the decision by the Presidency of Yugoslavia to withdraw the Army from Slovenia.

The decision of this republic to secede goes back to 1919. For a long time we have lived with the delusion that the Slovenes would get to like Yugoslavia, particularly because of the great benefits they received from it. This is over now, and the Army and all the patriots should defend those regions and peoples who wish to stay within the Yugoslav community. This was stressed by Dr. Radovan Karadzic and other leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party. The president of the Club of Delegates of the Democratic Action Party in the republic's Assembly, Dr. (Majin Kabic), feels that this is the most reasonable decision of the collective chief of state up to this time; he also feels it was normal for Bogic Bogicevic to abstain from voting, because he did not have the consent of the republican parliament for such a significant decision.

The presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina started its session at 10 o'clock (0800 GMT), and has not yet issued a statement reflecting its views on the decision of the Yugoslav Presidency. The vice president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina government, Muhamed Cengic, stated today that the republic's delegation will be in Zagreb tomorrow for talks with the representatives of the Croatian and Slovenian republics.

The most recent events in these two republics have caused great material loses in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The tension at the border between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and the large number of Serbian refugees in the area of Bosanski Novi represent particularly difficult problems. These will be the most important topics of tomorrow's discussions in Zagreb, Cengic points out.

Delegates Discuss Strategy for 24 Jul Session

AU2007100291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] In today's talk with the top officials of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly held in Sarajevo it was only agreed that more consultations of this kind be held in the future.

This was the (?first) contact between the representatives of the authorities and the delegates since the elections, which confirms the fact that the delegates of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Federal Chamber have so far been voting more than autonomously. (?Zdenko Dragulj) reports:

[?Dragulj] By all accounts, at the next session of the Federal Chamber, scheduled for 24 July, the delegates of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be voting exclusively according to their beliefs or their own conscience.

The way things stand at present, this session will not be attended by the delegates from Slovenia and Croatia. The delegation of Bosnia-Hercegovina will autonomously decide whether it will stay at that session and what stand it will take during the discussion on the current events in Yugoslavia, the (?methods) of resolving the crisis, and other important issues that will be on the agenda at that session.

The delegates today demanded (?instructions) from the representatives of the organs of the authorities. They were given individual opinions and advice that were different and at times cautious.

For instance, Momcilo Krajisnik suggested to the delegates to be present at the session and to support the Federal Executive Council. Muhamed Cengic proposed to them, if they are fighting for a united Yugoslavia, not to take part in the work of the organs of (?incomplete) Yugoslavia.

Jehudin (?Cokic), member of the Alliance of Reform Forces, was in favor of the delegates attending the session but not taking part in the making of any essential decisions. They should try to find new ways of agreeing on how to resolve the Yugoslav crisis.

The delegates were of the view that the correct way would be for the legislative groups of all republics to hold talks and that the solution to the blockade of the Federal Chamber, which is already in sight, is to call multiparty elections for the Federal Chamber.

Even if they wanted to, the representatives of the authority of Bosnia-Hercegovina could not give to the delegates more specific instructions on how to vote in the Federal Chamber because, as is known, there is no unified stand in this republic on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia. Some representatives of authority suggested that the Federal Chamber delegates basically proceed from the recent statement by the Assembly of Bosnia- Hercegovina on the indivisibility of Bosnia-Hercegovina, or the platform of the presidency on the position of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is expected soon.

(?Rajko Cagic) reacted to the promise that more consultations will be held before the Federal Chamber's session warning that the legitimate instructions to the delegates could only be the decisions of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He called for a session of the (?Assembly) of Bosnia-Hercegovina so that it can give the delegates directives. He also called for the postponement of the Federal Chamber's session.

The delegates more or less claimed that so far they have been advocating a united Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia in the Federal Chamber and that they are unanimous in this stand. They would not have been if such consultations were held more frequently and if they had followed the (?opposing) stands of the assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina. At the same time, along with numerous criticisms addressed to the authorities of

Bosnia-Hercegovina regarding a lack of unity, they (?rejected), as they say, frequent reproaches concerning their work.

All in all, nothing was agreed on at today's consultations in the assembly.

Macedonia

Tupurkovski: Presidency Decision 'Dramatic'

LD1907193191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1751 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] Skopje, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—"The Presidency decision is a dramatic and radical decision. It is an expression of the enormous uncertainties and terrible implications for the country which could result from failure to implement the Brioni agreement," Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, Presidency member for Macedonia, told Macedonian Radio-Television today.

"I accepted this decision conditionally. I accepted it as part of a package and as a part of a consensus declaration for peace, but also with the statement to the effect that, if there are not immediate guarantees in Ohrid to all republics that there is no alternative to negotiations and that there is no question of the use of force against anyone in Yugoslavia, Macedonia will consider the decision applicable to this republic as well. I will seek the agreement of the Assembly to this and an imperative mandate. If there is no progress in Ohrid, I personally will consider, and will seek the support of the republican assembly for it, that the decision on the withdrawal of the Army forces from Slovenia is automatically applicable to Macedonia as well," Tupurkovski stated.

According to Tupurkovski the dramatic change lies in the Serbian-Croatian conflict in Croatia. If it develops it will become a general and uncontrolled conflict with well-known consequences. Presicely for this reason, Tupurkovski said, the Presidency cannot adopt "ordinary measures. The use of force is out of the question, and a declaration of peace will have to be accepted under pressure from the citizens by the presidents of the republics on 22 July."

Tupurkovski added that a two-day session of the Presidency is planned in Ohrid. It should propose principles for the solution of the Yugoslav crisis, and we must agree on these very quickly, Tupurkovski stated.

Macedonian Politicians Fear Country's Division

AU2107174791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Boris Djordjioski report from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The Macedonian political scene fears division of Yugoslavia and changes to its borders, because, they say in Skopje, if there is no Yugoslavia any more, its remainder is unacceptable to Macedonia.

[Djordjioski] Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina will pay the cost of Yugoslavia breaking up, because they are the only two republics which—if they fail to take concrete steps—will not only be left without sovereignty, but will also become victims of dark plots. The scenario is obvious and open and can be read by any citizen of this tragic land. This is the beginning of a signed commentary in the NOVA MAKEDONIJA newspaper that ends with the conclusion: With their constructive proposals and conduct, Gligorov, Tupurkovski, the Macedonian Parliament, and the government have so far shown great patience and understanding for all the difficulties confronted by the Yugoslav top state leadership, the Federal Government and the Army. However, it is obvious that all the moves they made were to Macedonia's detriment.

The peaceful solution proposed—to create a union of sovereign states—was objectionable to Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia, and hiding behind the failure to accept this solution was a plan to change borders and divide peoples. Hence, the opening stand in this commentary that Macedonia and Bosnia will pay the cost.

Of course, these kind of commentaries in the press, which are becoming more frequent, are not a full reflection of the official Macedonian stand, but people who know the situation in this republic are of the opinion that it is only a matter of days before Macedonia adopts laws and other documents with which it will proclaim its sovereignty. For, with Slovenia's departure, there is no Yugoslavia. They say that the remainder of Yugoslavia is unacceptable to Macedonia.

The Macedonian government has already prepared all that is necessary for such a step, which is regarded as being forced because this republic has done nothing to contribute to the breakup of Yugoslavia. Of course, that is an ultimate solution, in case the talks on creating a union of sovereign Yugoslav states—and it is a question if these talks will be continued—end in failure. There is obviously a fear that Macedonia may be caught unawares by the development of events in the country.

Blaze Hristevski, vice president of the Macedonian government, is of the opinion that the departure of the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia and probably from Croatia is unacceptable, and therefore that the Yugoslav People's Army should leave this republic as well. Such demands should be expected from the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization], which considers the Yugoslav People's Army in Macedonia to be an occupiers' army.

What reaction the government and assembly will have is rather uncertain, but it is almost certain now that—according to what the Social Democrats claim—almost half of the ministries are led by people from the VMRO, although the government publicly declares itself to be a professional and a non-party body.

One should now expect there to be deputies from the Albanian PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] in the legislature, because the party's demand for school records to be kept in Albanian has been met by the government. True, Education Minister Dimitar Dimitrov, who opposed such a decision is now leaving, but his resignation will not cause any major upheaval. However, VMRO members are now attacking the government for making this concession, as they call it. Whether this attack is only an illusion meant to keep the party's prestige remains to be seen. Things will probably be much clearer at the assembly session on 23 July, of course if everything does not end up only with mutual bickering and outwitting, which has become a regular practice in the the legislature. If the very dissolution of Yugoslavia is decided upon, the party positions will become clear. As we have said, the VMRO demands that the YPA leave Macedonia [words indistinct]

The two opposed nationalistic parties, the Macedonian and Albanian one (?have) the same positions. One should still wait for events to develop further. However, there is another certainty that is much too certain. The Macedonian economy can endure for another two months at the most. Economic officials demand urgent measures from the government, because a business collapse is too close. The breakup of the Yugoslav market has undermined the foundations of this republic's economy.

What can the government offer? It has offered a four-year work program, a vision of development over a longer period of time, but when it comes to concrete steps that one should urgently take, there are still none. How is one then to become politically sovereign when economically he finds himself in a deep abyss?

The Macedonian government, however, claims in a self-satisfied manner that it has not taken a single wrong step so far and that it considers the criticism of it to be normal, but not justified. The fact that the majority of Macedonia's population is threatened by starvation and that it has to seek salvation in soup kitchens, seems to have little to do with the government. It remains untouchable and incapable of making mistakes.

Macedonia Forbids Formation of Paramilitary Units

LD2107170191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1619 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] Ohrid, Yugoslav[illegible] the Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will not permit the creation of paramilitary units or any volunteer detachments in its territory, Macedonian Premier Nikola Kljusev said today.

Speaking to reporters in Ohrid, Kljusev said

staffs and committees [illegible] volunteer detachments. He cautioned that this can lead only to a Lebanonization of Macedonia.

The political parties that do this will be banned, and individuals too will take the legal consequences, Kljusev said.